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THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS
IN THE UNITED STATES

STUDIES OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION

PUBLISHED BY THE

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THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES



NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD, INC.
NEW YORK

1925

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29342

Published June, 1925

FOREWORD

The submission to the states of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, giving the Federal Government power to regulate the labor of persons under eighteen years of age, has recently directed public attention throughout the country to the so-called child-labor problem and to the problem of proper and effective means of dealing with it. The discussion of this proposal has related largely to questions of political theory on the one hand, and of humane sentiment on the other, and these considerations have probably been most influential in the action taken by the various states on the proposal.

Important as these considerations are, it may be doubted whether they finally dispose of the problems involved in the employment of young persons in the United States. General ideas regarding the functions of government and general feelings regarding the welfare of children are not easily susceptible of objective analysis and evaluation, and judgments based upon them are frequently unstable. The working life of our young people, on the other hand, involves continuing and complex problems of industry, education, family and community life, the wise solution of which requires a careful analysis and clear understanding of their origin and nature. It may confidently be assumed that, whatever the popular feeling regarding child welfare and the legislative methods chosen to promote it, our young people will continue to participate in the productive life of the nation, not because such participation is immediately advantageous to them or to others, but because it is a necessary preparation for their future rôle as citizens and members of the working community. It is to be hoped that public feeling will be vigilant and legislative methods adequate in protecting the welfare of our young people from this point of view; but both these, if they are to be effective, must be based upon a clear understanding of the

character of the problem and of the situation out of which it arises.

The National Industrial Conference Board has sought in this report to contribute to such an understanding. The primary purpose of the report, accordingly, is twofold: First, to make clear just what "child labor" means and what sort of problem it is in the United States today; second, to show what has been and is being done about it. To this end the report presents a concise, objective survey of the available information necessary to a clear thinking and sound judgment on the following questions:

Why are young people at work?

How many, of what ages, where and at what occupations?

With what effects?

Under what legislative protections?

In addition, the report analyzes the available material regarding experience with federal legislation and the main contentions which have been offered for and against further legislation of this kind such as is contemplated by the constitutional amendment recently submitted to the states.

This volume is the result of an investigation conducted by the Conference Board's Research Staff, under the supervision of the Staff Economic Council.

In the preparation of its reports, the National Industrial Conference Board avails itself of the experience and judgment of the business executives who compose its membership and of recognized authorities in special fields, in addition to the scientific knowledge and equipment of its Research Staff. The reports of the Board thus fully represent the result of scientific investigation and broad business experience, and the conclusions expressed therein are those of the Conference Board as a body.

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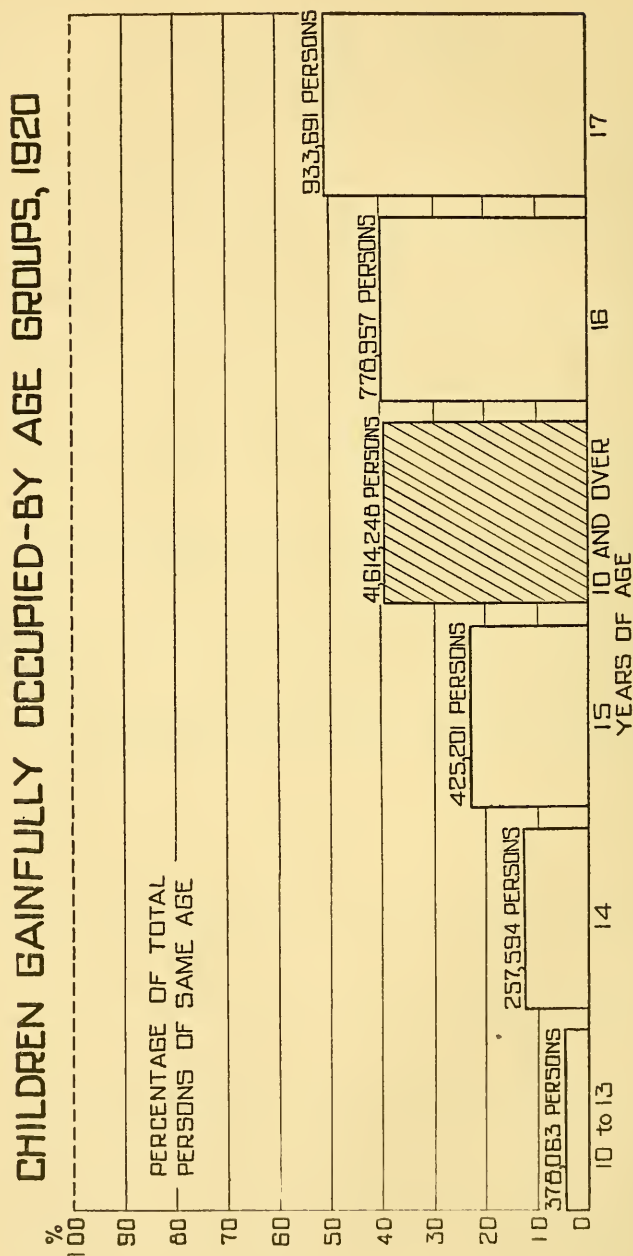
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CHART 1



The Employment of Young Persons in the United States

CHAPTER I

FACTORS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS

Why do young people go to work, and why are they employed?

Young persons in the United States, like adults, naturally have the right to work for themselves, their parents or others, under certain conditions deemed necessary to protect their welfare and the welfare of the nation; and parents and employers have the right to employ them under these conditions. There is in modern society an inevitable tendency for young persons, parents and employers to avail themselves of these rights since, generally speaking, some practical preparation for the responsibilities of maturity is customary and necessary at some period before adult age is reached. But there are certain additional factors which may operate to bring about such employment at an earlier age or under less favorable conditions than might otherwise be the case. These factors differ in each individual instance, in each family, in each locality and in each occupation.

The chief special factors in the employment of young persons appear to be these: (1) the necessity of the child for self-support or to supplement the family income or to assist the family labor; (2) the preference of the young person for work rather than for school attendance; (3) the desire of the young person to learn a trade; (4) the need of employers for young employees, or the advantage in employing them; (5) the attitude of parents, or the habits, customs or local practice regarding children's work; (6) the lack of employment, school attendance or health regu-

lations which would restrict children from going to work or employers or parents from employing them. There are no data sufficiently comprehensive to show conclusively the comparative importance of any of these reasons in explaining the number of young persons who are at work at various occupations in various parts of the United States. So far as the available information goes, the situation may be summed up as follows:

NECESSITY

The death or illness of the breadwinner of the family, or the death or incapacitation of both parents, might make it necessary for even very young children to go to work unless other aid were provided. At the present time 42 states have laws providing for aid to dependent children in cases where the fathers died or have become incapacitated. The six states which have not adopted such laws include New Mexico, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Kentucky.¹ Workmen's compensation laws which exist in 42 states also provide a measure of aid for dependent children in cases where the father is killed or incapacitated through his employment; and the extensive distribution of life and other insurance, individual and group, together with many private forms of aid for such cases, are some of the other ways of providing for such children. These increasingly effective social provisions in the United States are doubtless reducing the number of cases in which real necessity is the main factor in sending a young child to work.

In addition to cases of necessity due to the death or incapacitation of one or both parents, there are, of course, other cases in which low or irregular family income or the size of family, or both, are factors, and there is at the present time very little social provision for such cases. It is likely that these factors would operate largely to make only the older children go to work; but no comprehensive data are available on this point. Periods of busi-

¹Compare figures for employment of young persons in these states and present legislative restrictions, Appendix, p. 101.

ness depression which make the earnings of the breadwinner of the family irregular would hardly increase the employment of the younger children, since in such periods working forces are reduced and the least efficient workers, among which are the younger ones, are the first to be released. Many children go to work, moreover, because of economic factors, even though the child's supplementary earnings may not be absolutely necessary in the family income. The desire to raise the standard of living of the individual or the family is often stronger than any of the factors tending to keep the child in school.

The available statistics¹ show that the majority of young persons who are at work, especially the younger children, are engaged in assisting their parents on farms. This assistance may be an important or even a necessary contribution in some sections of the country where agricultural conditions are not prosperous.

The following are some suggestive facts bearing on these points.

An intensive study of the reasons for leaving school for work in the case of 622 children in seven industrial centers, typical of three separate sections of the country, showed that 30% of the children entered employment because of family necessity. This study included all children under sixteen years of age, leaving elementary or grammar grades for work during one half of a school year, and defined necessity as existing when the family income, without the earnings of children under sixteen years, was less than \$2.00 per capita per week, after rent, taxes, and expenses of sickness or death had been deducted.² In addition to the group in which the children's earnings were found to be necessary, there was another group, almost as large, of children who had left school because their help was desired by their parents.

In another inquiry made about the same time, but in one industry only, the percentage of children leaving school

¹See Table 2, p. 17.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, Dec., 1915, pp. 263, 264.

because their earnings were necessary to their families' maintenance, was found to be 36.3.¹

In various studies in which the child's reason for going to work is accepted, the percentages of cases in which economic need is given as the reason, are somewhat larger than the percentages already given, which refer to studies in which definite standards for judging the necessity of the child's contribution were applied. More than one-third of 168 workers under sixteen years of age in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1914, stated that economic need was their chief reason for leaving school,² and about 40% of a group of 823 children in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1918, gave the same reason.³

Various analyses of reasons given in connection with securing work permits in the years 1916 to 1918, indicate that about 40% of children in Iowa (not including those working for vacations only) claimed economic necessity as the reason for working, and over 50% of those in Louisville, Kentucky, and more than 60% in Baltimore, Maryland, reported "economic pressure" as their reason.⁴ In the anthracite mining district, an examination of the reasons for working in the cases of 1,621 children revealed "family need" as the cause in 55% of the cases.⁵

Thus, from the information available at the present time, it would seem that necessity is the chief factor in their going to work for 30% to 40% of working children under sixteen years of age. To the extent that the economic factor in child labor is important, therefore, the prohibition of such employment would obviously require provisions to cover not only cases of complete dependency but cases where the contribution of the young wage earner

¹*Ibid.*, p. 32.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Margaret Hutton Abels, "From School to Work, A Study of Children Leaving School under Sixteen Years of Age to Go to Work in Waltham, Mass.," Washington, 1917, p. 23.

³U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Helen Sumner Woodbury, "The Working Children of Boston," Washington, 1922, p. 99.

⁴Theresa Wolfson, "Why, When and How Children Leave School," *The American Child*, May, 1919, p. 59 ff.

⁵U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "Child Welfare and the Welfare of Children in an Anthracite Coal-Mining District," No. 106, Washington, 1922, p. 26 ff.

or worker is necessary to supplement the family income or occupation.

LACK OF INTEREST IN SCHOOL

School facilities of some sort for children up to certain ages are provided in every state, and every state has a compulsory education law applying to children up to certain ages or grades. If economic or other factors do not urge them, children who go to work despite these facilities and these laws, therefore, may do so because they prefer it. They may prefer work to school because the school facilities are such that attendance is difficult, unpleasant, uninteresting, or not adapted to their instinctive needs. The character of schools, the kind of teaching, and the temperaments of children differ, and these differences may make the schools of a given place unattractive to children of certain types.

It has been stated that more than half of the children employed left school because they did not like it, and this estimate accords generally with the few data available bearing on this point.¹

Among the 622 children in seven industrial centers, previously mentioned, it was found that the child's dissatisfaction with school was directly responsible for his going to work in 26.6% of the cases, and preference for work as against school was the cause in an additional 9.8% of them. Nearly one-half the children in this group expressed dissatisfaction with school. An even larger proportion, 83.3%, were found to be retarded in school to the extent of one year or more.² These two conditions, retardation in school and lack of interest in school usually are found together, and it is natural that one should lead to the other. Practically every available analysis of the ages and grades at which working children left school shows that a very much larger proportion of such children are retarded in school at the time they leave than is the

¹Raymond G. Fuller, "Child Labor and the Constitution," New York, 1923, p. 22, p. 140 ff.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 265.

TABLE 1: SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF CHILD LABOR

States	Per cent number of persons gainfully occupied 10 to 18 yrs. of age is of total number of persons gainfully occupied, 10 yrs. of age and over	Per cent gainfully employed 10 to 18 yrs. of age is of total population of same age	Average number of days attended by each pupil 5 to 18 yrs. of age 1920	Average length of school term	Per cent of school population 5 to 18 yrs. in daily attendance	Per capita expenditure per pupil attending school	Percentage illiterate among persons 10 yrs. of age and over	Juvenile offenders 10 to 18 yrs. of age committed in 1923; ^a ratio per 100,000 population of same age	Rural population as percentage of total population	Negroes as percentage of total population
Alabama.....	14.8	29.7	58.8	123.1	47.8	\$24.81	16.1	51.4	78.3	38.4
Arizona.....	4.6	12.3	86.8	162.6	53.4	136.56	15.3	71.4	64.8	2.4
Arkansas.....	12.3	23.3	73.0	126.3	57.8	23.63	9.4	49.5	83.4	27.0
California.....	2.9	10.8	123.2	174.0	70.8	101.86	3.3	79.2	32.0	1.1
Colorado.....	4.1	11.0	108.7	167.9	64.7	87.95	3.2	142.6	51.8	1.2
Connecticut.....	6.6	20.8	115.7	183.5	63.0	79.52	6.2	100.8	32.2	1.5
Delaware.....	5.5	15.9	94.6	181.7	52.1	61.26	5.9	130.6	45.8	13.6
Dist. of Columbia..	3.4	16.9	121.1	178.0	68.0	81.50	2.8	421.7	0.0	25.1
Florida.....	6.6	15.8	80.9	133.1	60.8	42.42	9.6	133.3	63.3	34.0
Georgia.....	13.1	26.9	72.6	145.0	50.0	19.43	15.3	102.7	74.9	41.7
Idaho.....	3.6	7.8	120.3	172.7	69.6	101.51	1.5	112.4	72.4	2.2
Illinois.....	5.6	16.0	104.4	170.9	61.1	72.54	3.4	78.4	32.1	2.8
Indiana.....	5.4	14.2	99.9	155.8	64.1	78.24	2.2	67.6	49.4	2.8
Iowa.....	4.1	9.9	118.0	174.0	67.8	92.06	1.1	43.6	63.6	2.8
Kansas.....	4.2	9.4	109.6	164.0	66.8	84.84	1.6	64.8	65.1	3.3
Kentucky.....	7.3	15.1	60.0	123.0	48.8	23.68	8.4	70.4	73.8	9.8
Louisiana.....	9.5	19.3	68.4	148.9	45.9	44.38	21.9	68.5	65.1	38.9
Maine.....	4.1	11.8	108.7	169.2	64.2	55.26	3.3	61.6	61.0	2.2
Maryland.....	6.8	19.0	87.1	179.6	48.5	47.01	5.6	155.8	40.0	16.9
Massachusetts.....	6.0	20.3	106.6	179.4	59.4	78.68	4.7	106.2	5.2	1.2
Michigan.....	4.6	13.5	102.8	172.0	59.8	91.48	3.0	85.0	38.9	1.6
Minnesota.....	4.4	10.8	102.6	160.0	64.1	90.50	1.8	90.7	55.9	4.4
Mississippi.....	14.9	30.2	53.7	122.0	44.0	21.06	17.2	17.2	86.6	52.2
Missouri.....	5.5	14.0	100.6	162.8	61.8	54.04	3.0	49.0	53.4	5.2
Montana.....	2.7	7.5	111.2	166.4	66.8	133.06	2.3	53.1	68.7	3.3
Nebraska.....	4.3	9.6	110.7	164.0	67.5	88.51	1.4	54.9	68.7	1.0
Nevada.....	1.8	7.9	115.1	167.0	68.9	130.24	5.9	23.1	80.3	4.4
New Hampshire.....	4.7	15.0	92.9	174.0	53.4	71.57	4.4	61.7	36.9	1.1
New Jersey.....	6.9	20.4	117.2	189.0	62.0	85.90	5.1	91.7	21.6	3.7
New Mexico.....	4.8	9.5	90.8	165.0	55.0	69.64	15.6	68.1	82.0	1.6
New York.....	5.5	17.9	108.4	188.0	57.6	77.88	5.1	116.6	17.3	1.9
North Carolina.....	12.4	23.0	75.6	134.0	56.5	25.65	13.1	36.8	80.8	29.8
North Dakota.....	4.3	7.9	107.8	166.9	64.6	100.31	2.1	21.2	86.4	1.1
Ohio.....	4.2	12.4	100.2	165.0	60.7	83.38	2.8	120.6	36.2	3.2
Oklahoma.....	6.9	12.6	93.1	166.4	55.9	64.34	3.8	76.4	73.4	7.4
Oregon.....	3.1	9.5	115.6	152.0	76.0	73.20	1.5	72.3	50.1	3.3
Pennsylvania.....	6.6	17.3	99.4	176.8	56.2	58.04	4.6	63.6	35.7	3.3
Rhode Island.....	8.6	28.1	93.4	182.1	51.2	64.94	6.5	306.8	2.5	1.7
South Carolina.....	15.2	30.7	63.7	109.6	58.2	19.99	18.1	53.0	82.6	51.4
South Dakota.....	9.1	8.7	93.2	167.0	55.8	117.21	1.7	25.3	84.0	19.3
Tennessee.....	9.3	18.4	86.3	133.5	52.8	22.17	10.3	28.2	73.9	19.3
Texas.....	8.8	18.0	82.2	155.6	52.8	45.07	8.3	38.5	67.6	15.9
Utah.....	4.7	9.1	120.8	169.4	72.6	84.30	1.9	2.6	52.0	3.3
Vermont.....	4.4	12.1	96.6	160.0	59.6	71.49	3.0	102.4	68.8	29.5
Virginia.....	7.5	15.4	74.9	147.0	50.9	68.94	11.2	57.4	70.8	44.8
Washington.....	3.2	10.3	120.5	176.4	68.3	97.50	1.7	107.7	74.8	5.9
West Virginia.....	5.6	11.0	82.1	138.9	59.1	44.46	6.4	86.2	52.7	2.2
Wisconsin.....	5.7	13.9	94.7	175.3	54.0	73.92	2.4	36.3	52.7	2.2
Wyoming.....	2.9	9.0	107.5	152.0	70.7	112.37	2.1	49.7	70.5	7.7

^aJanuary 1 to June 30

case with children of the same age group in general. From the study of children in Waltham, Massachusetts, it was found that reasons connected with school, including dislike of it and retardation, accounted for about 45% of those who left school for work,¹ and according to the Boston study already mentioned, about one-fifth of the children included left school to go to work because they were discontented with school.² An estimate by the head of the Vocational Bureau of the Chicago public schools places the reasons for leaving school for work which are related to conditions in the school at 60% of the total as against 40% for reasons related to economic conditions in the home.³

In so far as lack of interest in school, due to defects in the school facilities or educational methods, or to their poor adaptation to individual needs, is a factor in improper employment of young persons, the situation could be met to a considerable extent by improvements in the educational system itself. Improvement of public school facilities, extension of trade schools, inclusion of subjects in practical arts and manual training, better organization of classes, development of extra-curricular activities and especially better knowledge of individual differences in children, and the adjustment of education to these differences, would all tend to increase the interest of children in schools and would be necessary if employment were to be successfully prohibited on educational grounds.

DESIRE TO LEARN A TRADE

This is in part an aspect of the maladjustment between the child and the regular school system. Certain types of children do not take to the subjects taught in the schools and are by nature more interested in other kinds of activity, especially manual activity. In addition, some children of a given age are more mature than others in the

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "From School to Work," *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "The Working Children of Boston," *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³Raymond G. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

sense that they are looking ahead to some kind of work later in life. Where this prospective work is a mechanical or business activity they may become impatient with the processes of regular schooling.

It would be enlightening to know how important this factor is in the entrance of young persons into certain kinds of work, but very few data are available. That this factor appears to be significant in a very small proportion of cases is testified to by findings of the federal study of 622 children, already mentioned. Only 11.3% of the children seemed to exercise a choice; of these 38.6% (or 4.3% of the total number of children) selected their work for the purpose of learning a trade or skilled occupation, while the others were attracted by the desirability of the work or by good initial wages. In general, a child was found to take the first place he could find, often going where friends or relatives worked.¹ The same conclusions on this subject were reached in the Boston study of 1,943 children in 1915.² Among these children, two-thirds were found to have entered clerical and similar occupations, while less than one-third entered factory or mechanical occupations.³

The census data concerning the occupations in which young persons of various ages are found⁴ suggest also that the desire to learn a trade is probably an important factor only in the employment of older children; the younger ones are at work chiefly on their parents' farms or in trade or industrial occupations of such simple, mechanical and repetitive character that they may not serve as preparation for future work in the same or different industries or trades. Positions in factories and stores most frequently open to young children include such occupations as packing and wrapping in candy factories; "turning in," "covering," "binding" and "tying" in box

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "The Working Children of Boston," *op. cit.*, p. 229.

³*Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁴See Chapter II.

factories; pulling bastings and brushing clothes in tailor shops; serving as cash girls, inspectors, stock boys and messengers in stores and other establishments; tying and cutting threads, polishing and cleaning shoes, lacing and assembling parts of shoes in boot and shoe factories; counting and sorting and tying tags in novelty shops; and shaking and marking clothes in laundries. These occupations, considered by themselves, are for the most part non-educative. Often a young and bright child may begin work at such an occupation and be advanced to another and better one, but more often, for the younger children, these occupations are merely occasional, and an effort to learn a definite trade or to enter promising work is not made till later.

In so far as the desire to learn a trade does operate as a factor in the employment of young persons and this purpose is to be furthered, the prohibition of such employment, at least for the older children, may require the establishment of trade schools or the extension of apprenticeship systems, or some attempt to regulate employment more specifically in the light of educational considerations.

INFLUENCE OF INDUSTRY

Is the position of industry and trade in the United States such that employers need or prefer to employ young persons, thus increasing the number of such at work? It is obvious that here again no general answer will cover the situation in this regard. Conditions differ widely in different occupations, in different industries, and in different parts of the country, as well as in respect to young persons of different ages. Whether such young persons as seek employment, for whatever reasons, will be accepted depends upon the economic position of the industry in a given locality, the amount and character of the labor supply, the kind of work required, the extent of use of labor-saving machinery, the local regulations and laws and other factors. In some cases doubtless the lower wage and larger relative supply of young workers may lead to their employment in larger numbers, other things being equal.

But, as will be seen later in discussing the economic effects of child labor, these other things are rarely, if ever, equal. Not only legislative restrictions on employment itself, but the higher accident hazard of young workers, the installation of expensive labor-saving machinery requiring skill in operation, and the relative efficiency of children in various kinds of work, all enter into the question. The conclusion that young workers are generally employed because their wages are lower than those of adults leaves out of account the question of the relative value and cost of the two kinds of labor. In any establishment labor has its *value*, which is measured by its productivity, and its *cost*, which includes not only its wages, but the expenses of directing it, training it, replacing it, maintaining the machinery which it uses, replacing the material which it wastes, and of providing the protection against accidents, illness and sometimes unemployment which it may suffer. All these factors which enter into the unit cost of production are more important in many industries, and are becoming more important in most industries, as regards the selection of labor, than wage rates in themselves. In a period of high wages and demand for increased production, the less skilled or mature labor tends to be replaced by automatic machinery which is expensive and demands the attention of fewer but more highly skilled workers. That is why industry is giving increasing attention to the careful selection of its workers, their scientific direction and the provision of good working conditions.

Undoubtedly, though, there are special cases in which young workers, where readily available, are employed chiefly because they can be had for lower wages than adults. In some cases this may be done because employers do not know how to figure their complete labor costs; in others the industry may be one in which there is an immediate, if not a long run profit from employing young workers at low wages, or perhaps an industry which, because of its location or peculiarities of process, has always depended on a large supply of such workers and in which the whole weight of custom and tradition is against any

other plan, and in which it is therefore very difficult to bring about a change.

While little data are available to throw light on the importance of these industrial factors in the utilization of young workers in certain occupations, the decline in employment of younger children from 1910 to 1920—a period in which there was great demand for labor and when wages rose rapidly and large production was demanded—suggests that the increasing attention of industry to the many factors involved in labor cost may have played some part in the replacement of young workers by adults.

INFLUENCE OF PARENTS AND LOCAL OR RACIAL CUSTOM

Parents themselves, whether because of ignorance and short-sightedness, or because of racial habit or locally accepted custom, may often encourage, or at least not prevent, their children from going out to work. The wages brought in by the younger workers, even though not necessary, are often regarded as a welcome addition to the family income, and the parents may not realize the possible ill effects upon the child. In other cases, where families are large, even without the pressure of necessity, the absence of the younger children at work, when not at school, may be welcome. Were parents aware of the possibility that children of greater schooling may earn more in the end, they might encourage the children to remain in school longer. A study by the U. S. Bureau of Education, to be referred to later, showed that children beginning employment at the age of eighteen earn more per week than those who began at fourteen and had four years experience at their work.¹

It is obvious that the attitude of parents toward employment of their children varies also according to the racial attitude and the local custom, bred perhaps of economic conditions. The census figures for 1920 indicate that, assuming like pressure of financial necessity and other factors upon all groups, the number and proportion of

¹See p. 45.

young persons at work in various occupations differ greatly as among the native and foreign born, white and negro. In the southern states it is the general custom for negro children to go to work at an early age, often with the entire family, and in all agricultural sections the idea that the children should assist in the farm work, or work out if necessary, is accepted naturally. In other sections there is a definite prejudice against allowing the children to go out to work, and economic and other factors come more largely into play.

INFLUENCE OF LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS

The interplay of all the factors discussed makes it difficult if not impossible to estimate the influence which the presence or absence or degree of legislative regulation of employment and schooling of young persons has on their being at work. If it were possible here to compare state by state the trend in the proportion of children at work with the growth of employment restrictions, school facilities and of industry, it might be feasible to measure more clearly the precise influence of legislation itself.

Chart 2 shows the decline in the number of children gainfully occupied in the United States at various periods. This has doubtless been due in large part to the extension and higher standards of state school and employment laws, which may have offset some of the factors tending to draw children into work. Other factors, however, may have played a part in this. The development of trade schools, improvements in educational facilities and methods, the influence of the war on immigration, the extension of workmen's compensation and mothers' pension laws, greater attention to selection of personnel, introduction of labor saving machinery in industry and in agriculture, are some of the influences which may have had a share in offsetting the increased employment of young workers and helped to make possible the large decline from 1910 to 1920 despite the extraordinary demand for labor during the war. More effective enforcement of existing legislation, too, may have contributed as well as

new legislation. These factors have been in operation over a long period, while the two federal laws were in force only a comparatively short time. The data indicating that in certain places there was an increase in employment of children after the federal laws were canceled should be considered in relation to these other factors.

It is seen, therefore, that the participation of young persons in the working life of the country is the result of many factors, social, economic and educational, which differ widely from place to place and even from individual to individual. The absence or presence of legislative restrictions is only one of many influences that work to increase or diminish the number of young people employed.

CHAPTER II

EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS

How many young people are at work in the United States, of what ages, where, and at what occupations?

These are simple and definite questions, yet it is hard to answer them accurately and completely, and the answers given may be and often are misleading. The only information for all states, all kinds of work and all ages is that afforded by the Census of Occupations of 1920, although there is more recent information for a few states and special localities. This census reported the number of children of various ages who were stated by their parents or guardians on January 1, 1920, to be working at a regular occupation, or to be "somewhat regularly assisting their parents in the performance of work other than household work or chores." The census required that "Children who work for their parents at home merely on general household work, on chores, or at odd times on other work, should be reported as having no occupation."¹ The number of children reported as "gainfully occupied" in this sense includes, therefore, young persons who were working "somewhat regularly" for their parents on the farm, in the shop or in the store. According to the census, this circumstance probably had the effect of reducing the number of children enumerated as farm laborers in 1920, since a large proportion of child laborers on farms do not work regularly.²

Even though it be assumed that correct answers were given or secured to the census inquiries as to the age of the child, his occupation and the amount of time spent in work, it is obvious that this enumeration in itself does not

¹United States, Fourteenth Census, 1920, "Children in Gainful Occupations," Washington, 1924, p. 16.

²*Ibid.*, p. 17.

correctly represent the extent and character of the child labor problem in this country, for several reasons.

It does not include children under ten years, although according to various investigations of the Children's Bureau, that number is not inconsiderable. It should be borne in mind, too, that when the census was taken in 1920 a federal law restricted the employment of children under fourteen in mills and factories, and under sixteen in mines and quarries. In counting every child who worked "somewhat regularly" for his parents, considerable latitude in interpretation was of necessity allowed the enumerators and parents, but whether this would, on the whole, increase or decrease the total number of children *employed*, in the sense of working for wages, cannot be determined.

Other qualifications must be considered in using these figures, especially in comparing them with previous censuses. The 1920 census was taken as of January 1, 1920, on the rather loose basis of classification just described. The 1910 census was taken as of April 15, and on a somewhat more strict basis.

Because, in most sections of the United States, agricultural work is at or near its lowest ebb in January, the number of children counted as engaged in agricultural pursuits in the 1920 census is probably smaller than it would have been had the census been taken as of April 15, as it was in 1910. Further testimony to this is found in the fact that a considerable proportion of the children living on the home farm were returned as neither attending school nor as being gainfully occupied.¹ The difference in instructions to enumerators of the two census periods would also account for somewhat different returns for the number of children employed.

On the other hand, it is also possible that the April enumeration in 1910 may not have represented fully the number of children who work part of the time in agriculture, since young workers assist their parents or hire out

¹United States, Fourteenth Census, 1920, "Children in Gainful Occupations," Washington, 1924, p. 16.

most largely in the harvesting, not the planting season. Moreover, it will be noted that the number of young persons reported as working in agriculture decreased more than four times as much between 1910 and 1920 as the total number of persons in agriculture. This fact suggests that the decline is not wholly ascribable to the change of census period. Child labor regulations had no direct influence on the decrease, because there was no direct prohibition of child labor in agricultural pursuits in any state at this time.

In any case, the census authorities have concluded that "any conclusions drawn from a study of the returns for children engaged in agricultural pursuits" or "from a study of the Fourteenth Census returns for children engaged in all occupations, probably would be incorrect."¹

A comparison of the figures for non-agricultural pursuits for the years 1910 and 1920 may be made, however, without encountering all of the difficulties found in trying to compare the numbers engaged in agricultural work. As the non-agricultural occupations are those about which interest has centered in discussions of problems connected with the employment of young persons, these census figures are worth studying carefully.

In the accompanying tables and charts² an attempt has been made to set down their more important features, although limitation of space prevents giving the full details they indicate.

THE GENERAL SITUATION

The outstanding facts regarding the extent and character of children's work are as follows:

1. The number of young persons under sixteen gainfully employed was 1,060,858, or 2.55% of the total number of workers in the country, and 8.5% of the total number of children of that age. For young persons under eighteen years, the corresponding figures are 2,773,506 or 6.7% of the total number of workers and 17% of all young people within the same age group.

¹*Ibid.*, p. 17.

²See Tables 2-6 and Appendix; also Charts 1-5

TABLE 2: GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	Percentage of corresponding population group											
	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	105,710,620	8,594,872	2,046,265	1,861,445	1,972,958	1,855,173	39.37	4.40	12.59	22.84	39.48	50.33
Gainfully occupied....	41,614,248	378,063	257,594	425,201	778,957	933,691	10.36	3.83	7.38	8.99	11.67	13.35
Agriculture.....	10,953,158	328,958	150,977	167,374	230,291	247,620	(1.75)	(3.51)	(6.41)	(7.35)	(8.87)	(7.54)
On home farms.....	(1,850,119) ^a	(301,937)	(131,112)	(136,775)	(175,065)	(139,854)	1.03	0.01	0.07	0.27	1.00	(1.26)
Mining.....	1,090,223	647	1,499	5,045	19,772	23,438	12.13	0.11	2.47	6.73	13.72	17.08
Manufacturing.....	12,818,524	9,473	50,512	125,352	270,603	316,910	2.90	0.02	0.21	0.68	1.76	2.89
Transportation.....	3,063,582	1,899	4,362	12,651	34,720	53,665	4.01	0.20	0.73	1.68	3.08	3.98
Trade.....	4,242,979	17,213	14,844	31,311	60,756	73,906	0.73	^b	0.01	0.04	0.12	0.46
Public service.....	770,460	153	208	769	2,465	8,462	2.03	0.01	0.04	0.11	0.26	0.65
Professional service...	2,143,889	621	802	2,042	5,114	12,109	3.22	0.14	0.71	1.47	2.58	3.32
Domestic and personal service.....	3,404,892	12,172	14,481	27,353	50,998	61,538	2.96	0.08	0.97	2.86	5.28	7.33
Clerical occupations..	3,126,541	6,927	19,909	53,304	104,238	136,043						

^aFarm laborers on home farms only.^bLess than one hundredth of one per cent.

TABLE 3: PROPORTION OF YOUNG PERSONS IN GAINFUL

State	10-13 yrs. inclusive			
	Per cent of gainfully occupied in agriculture	Per cent of gainfully occupied in mfg. and mech. ind.	Per cent of gainfully occupied in other occupations	Per cent total employed 10-13 is of total employed in state
Alabama.....	96.1	.9	3.0	5.2
Arizona.....	87.9	3.4	8.7	1.0
Arkansas.....	97.9	.6	1.5	4.2
California.....	22.8	6.7	70.5	.1
Colorado.....	62.7	3.0	34.3	.3
Connecticut.....	8.3	32.4	59.3	.1
Delaware.....	54.4	4.6	41.0	.3
District of Columbia.....	....	5.0	95.0	.1
Florida.....	78.5	6.5	14.9	1.2
Georgia.....	93.9	1.2	4.9	4.0
Idaho.....	75.8	2.8	21.3	.3
Illinois.....	35.8	16.8	47.5	.1
Indiana.....	38.8	7.2	53.9	.3
Iowa.....	45.6	4.9	49.6	.2
Kansas.....	62.3	4.1	33.6	.3
Kentucky.....	90.9	1.4	7.7	1.2
Louisiana.....	87.8	1.8	10.4	1.9
Maine.....	43.5	12.9	43.5	.1
Maryland.....	54.0	8.3	37.7	.3
Massachusetts.....	7.4	25.6	67.0	.1
Michigan.....	29.2	11.4	59.4	.2
Minnesota.....	63.4	3.3	33.3	.2
Mississippi.....	96.6	.8	2.6	5.5
Missouri.....	72.0	5.9	22.1	.3
Montana.....	58.6	1.2	40.2	.2
Nebraska.....	68.1	3.1	28.7	.3
Nevada.....	29.4	2.9	67.6	.1
New Hampshire.....	21.1	23.7	55.2	.1
New Jersey.....	18.6	29.3	52.0	.1
New Mexico.....	71.0	14.3	14.7	.7
New York.....	14.5	21.4	64.1	.1
North Carolina.....	94.4	1.8	3.7	3.2
North Dakota.....	90.1	.8	9.1	.5
Ohio.....	22.2	8.0	69.8	.2
Oklahoma.....	92.9	1.0	6.2	1.6
Oregon.....	23.4	3.6	73.0	.2
Pennsylvania.....	29.1	17.9	53.1	.1
Rhode Island.....	4.8	42.5	52.7	.1
South Carolina.....	96.6	.8	2.5	4.8
South Dakota.....	78.6	2.0	19.4	.3
Tennessee.....	91.4	1.8	6.8	2.2
Texas.....	93.7	1.0	5.3	2.4
Utah.....	78.6	2.3	19.1	.5
Vermont.....	41.5	9.7	48.8	.1
Virginia.....	76.9	3.6	19.5	1.0
Washington.....	22.3	5.5	72.2	.2
West Virginia.....	73.0	4.0	23.0	.4
Wisconsin.....	46.5	5.2	48.3	.2
Wyoming.....	62.6	5.6	31.7	.2
United States.....	87.0	2.5	10.5	.9

EXTENT OF EMPLOYMENT

19

OCCUPATIONS, BY STATES AND AGE GROUPS, 1920

10-15 years, inclusive				10-17 years, inclusive			
Per cent of gainfully occupied in agriculture	Per cent of gainfully occupied in mfg. and mech. ind.	Per cent of gainfully occupied in other occupations	Per cent total employed (10-15) is of total employed in state	Per cent of gainfully occupied in agriculture	Per cent of gainfully occupied in mfg. and mech. ind.	Per cent of gainfully occupied in other occupations	Per cent total employed (10-17) is of total employed in state
91.7	2.9	5.4	9.3	82.5	7.5	10.0	14.8
73.1	7.6	19.4	2.1	54.8	12.9	32.2	4.6
94.9	1.8	3.3	7.6	88.2	4.5	7.3	12.3
20.2	19.0	60.7	0.6	16.3	28.4	55.3	2.9
42.9	12.9	44.2	1.2	32.9	18.2	48.9	4.1
4.8	60.6	34.6	2.0	4.2	61.0	34.8	6.6
27.9	28.8	43.2	1.5	20.4	37.6	42.0	5.5
0.3	10.6	89.1	7.9	0.3	14.6	85.1	3.4
65.5	12.0	22.4	2.8	49.8	20.5	29.7	6.6
86.7	4.9	8.4	7.9	77.9	9.5	12.6	13.1
67.9	6.6	25.5	1.0	55.6	12.8	31.6	3.6
15.7	31.7	52.6	1.4	13.0	34.1	52.9	5.6
28.6	28.1	43.3	1.5	24.1	36.7	39.2	5.4
45.9	12.0	42.1	1.1	40.6	19.3	40.1	4.1
51.6	9.9	38.4	1.2	40.6	16.5	42.9	4.2
78.6	6.2	15.2	3.1	62.2	13.1	24.7	7.3
73.5	7.8	18.8	4.7	62.0	13.5	24.5	9.5
31.8	32.6	35.5	0.8	22.7	49.0	28.3	4.1
25.8	30.8	43.4	2.0	18.8	37.0	44.2	6.8
2.5	70.4	27.1	2.0	2.2	66.7	31.2	6.0
27.3	25.1	47.6	0.9	19.1	38.4	42.5	4.6
56.8	8.0	35.2	0.9	41.7	17.9	40.3	4.4
93.6	2.2	4.2	9.8	88.8	4.5	6.7	14.9
42.6	21.3	36.1	1.7	33.0	26.5	40.5	5.5
48.4	6.5	45.1	0.7	39.7	11.3	48.9	2.7
60.0	8.9	31.1	1.2	48.6	14.6	36.8	4.3
24.9	9.5	65.7	0.5	26.6	17.7	55.7	1.8
14.1	55.8	30.1	0.8	9.9	67.0	23.0	4.7
3.8	60.1	36.1	2.0	3.2	57.4	39.4	6.9
64.6	11.0	24.4	1.8	53.7	12.6	33.6	4.8
4.8	35.8	59.4	1.1	4.5	40.7	54.8	5.5
81.3	12.4	6.2	6.9	69.8	21.0	9.2	12.4
83.9	1.7	14.3	1.4	71.5	3.9	24.5	4.3
20.5	26.9	52.6	0.8	13.8	40.9	45.4	4.2
85.9	3.0	11.0	3.4	71.6	7.0	21.4	6.9
27.1	13.8	59.0	0.8	26.4	26.0	47.6	3.1
9.9	50.0	40.1	1.6	6.6	50.0	43.4	6.6
1.4	81.4	17.2	3.1	1.5	76.0	22.5	8.6
89.6	6.0	4.4	9.4	81.9	10.8	7.3	15.2
75.4	4.7	19.8	1.2	66.0	8.0	26.0	4.1
81.1	7.2	11.7	4.8	67.7	14.1	18.2	9.3
85.3	3.4	11.2	4.7	72.8	7.6	19.6	8.8
62.6	8.7	28.7	1.6	45.0	16.6	38.4	4.7
40.0	21.6	38.4	0.9	32.6	34.9	32.4	4.4
60.8	14.1	25.1	3.1	47.2	21.3	31.4	7.5
22.0	22.4	55.5	0.8	20.3	31.3	48.3	3.2
55.3	14.7	29.9	1.5	33.2	23.7	43.1	5.6
34.9	35.2	29.9	1.6	31.5	36.7	31.7	5.7
50.5	9.5	39.9	0.7	36.9	15.4	47.7	2.9
61.0	17.5	21.5	2.55	40.6	27.9	31.6	6.7

2. Of the 1,060,858 young persons under sixteen years, 61% were found to be working in agricultural pursuits, 17.5% in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and 21.5% in clerical occupations, domestic service, etc. Of the 2,773,506 under eighteen years, 40.6% were found in agricultural occupations, 27.9% in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and 31.6% in the various other classifications. Of the children under sixteen years found engaged in agriculture, 88% were working on the home farm.

3. According to the *number* of children under sixteen employed as laborers and semi-skilled operatives, the various manufacturing and mechanical industries, ranged in the following order: textiles, iron and steel, clothing, lumber and furniture, food, shoes, building and hand trades and clay, glass and stone.¹ According to the *proportion* of children employed as laborers and semi-skilled operatives among total wage earners in the same industries, the industries range as follows: paper-box factories, textiles, printing and publishing, shoes, food, clothing, cigars and tobacco, clay, glass and stone, metals,² lumber and furniture, and electrical supplies.³

4. In 1920 in no single manufacturing or mechanical occupation in the United States were more than 1,200 children under fourteen employed and only three employed more than 1,000 such children. These three occupations were, general building work, lumber and furniture manufacturing, and textile manufacturing. Forty-seven of the fifty-three major manufacturing occupations listed in the census of 1920 employed less than 500 persons under fourteen, and thirty-three of the fifty-three occupations employed less than 100 persons of these ages.

5. According to the Census of Manufactures⁴ of 1919, only one major industry, cotton manufacturing, employed more than 20,000 persons under sixteen, and only four

¹Employing 5,000 or more children.

²Not including iron and steel.

³Employing children under sixteen years to the extent of more than 2% of the total working force.

⁴The Census of Manufactures shows only two age groups of wage earners, those above and those below sixteen.

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF PERSONS IN SPECIFIED MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL OCCUPATIONS, 1920¹

Occupation	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Apprentices to building and hand trades.	73,953	574	1,200	5,206	19,215	28,710
Apprentices to dressmakers and milliners.	4,326	171	457	1,361	1,545	236
Apprentices, other.	65,898	490	2,276	7,588	17,805	16,958
Bakers.	97,940	...	...	...	...	1,754
Carpenters.	887,379	...	...	...	...	3,697
Compositors, linotypers and typesetters.	140,165	...	...	...	...	3,646
Coopers.	19,066	...	...	...	...	235
Dressmakers and seamstresses.	235,855	...	...	...	...	1,600
Dyers.	15,109	...	...	...	...	184
Electrotypers, stereotypers.	13,716	...	...	...	...	257
Engineers (stationary).	279,984	...	...	...	563	1,144
Filers, grinders and polishers.	59,785	8	39	169	835	974
Firemen (except locomotive fire department).	143,875	...	42	125	420	924
Furnacemen.	40,806	16	53	239	941	1,225
Laborers—Building, general, and not specified	623,203	1,115	1,472	3,627	8,471	11,755
" Chemical and allied industries.	74,289	58	209	516	1,396	1,663
" Cigar and tobacco factories.	35,157	83	288	588	1,368	1,437
" Clay, glass, and stone industry.	124,544	178	606	1,843	4,133	4,198
" Clothing industries.	12,776	48	251	560	915	875
" Food industries.	159,535	208	551	1,566	4,149	5,100
" Harness and saddle industries.	1,885	2	16	42	76	77
" Helpers in building and hand trades.	63,519	109	277	862	1,990	2,513
" Iron and steel industries.	729,613	325	1,157	3,973	12,482	16,775
" Other metal industries.	67,887	39	255	711	1,804	2,130
" Lumber and furniture industries.	320,613	1,011	1,916	4,299	9,541	11,616
" Paper and pulp mills.	52,263	21	97	353	1,216	1,712
" Printing and publishing.	11,436	43	141	431	785	746
" Shoe factories.	19,210	22	257	748	1,451	1,398
" Tanneries.	27,480	11	65	253	611	716
" Textile industries.	153,310	299	3,050	4,783	7,663	6,958
" Other industries.	463,891	678	2,112	5,686	12,693	14,681
Milliners and millinery dealers.	73,255	...	...	...	1,372	1,800
Oilers of machinery.	24,612	9	83	161	459	672
Painters, glaziers, etc.	323,032	17	104	392	996	2,212
Paper hangers.	18,746	...	...	...	...	64
Semi-skilled operatives: Chemical industry.	50,341	55	310	1,010	2,234	2,536
" Cigar and tobacco factories.	145,222	212	1,114	2,653	5,925	6,241
" Clay, glass, and stone industry.	85,434	96	587	1,658	3,400	3,347
" Clothing industries.	409,361	364	2,877	7,657	15,016	16,570
" Food industries.	188,895	339	1,954	5,316	11,103	10,106
" Harness and saddle industry.	18,135	8	37	81	154	167
" Iron and steel industry.	689,980	305	1,706	5,438	15,978	21,033
" Other metal industries.	91,291	50	763	1,948	4,148	4,595
" Lumber and furniture industry.	168,719	178	907	2,274	5,007	5,617
" Paper and pulp mills.	54,669	29	171	602	1,498	2,122
" Printing and publishing.	80,403	118	815	2,475	5,268	5,585
" Shoe factories.	206,225	109	1,700	4,709	8,896	9,220
" Tanneries.	32,226	6	118	328	695	773
" Textile industries.	792,397	1,087	15,654	29,776	48,474	46,020
" Other industries.	622,662	913	4,683	13,063	26,997	29,474
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).	78,859	69	142	282	502	589
Tailors and tailoresses.	192,232	...	...	...	...	1,679
Upholsterers.	29,605	...	...	...	413	594

¹Total of this column will not equal total under "Manufacturing and Mechanical" in other tables because here are included only those occupations in which children are employed.

others employed more than 5,000, three of which were textile industries, and the remaining boots and shoes. Of fifty major industries, forty-one employed less than 3,000 persons under sixteen.

6. In 1920 there was only one state, Mississippi, in which more than 20% of the children under fourteen were at work, and only five others in which more than 10% were working. All of these were Southern states.

7. In 1920 there were only four states, all Southern, in which more than 20% of the persons under sixteen were at work; and six additional in which more than 10% of these ages were working, all Southern except Rhode Island.

8. In 1920 there were only ten states in which more than 20% of persons under eighteen were employed, and only five in which more than 25% of such persons were working. The ten states were all Southern except Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

9. Among the states, Pennsylvania, with 27,821, had the largest number of young persons under sixteen years gainfully employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Massachusetts was next with 23,753, followed by New York with 17,842. New Jersey, Illinois, North Carolina, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin each had more than 5,000. The largest numbers of children under fourteen in the manufacturing and mechanical industries were found in Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, Georgia, and North Carolina.

10. In only six states were 50% or more of the working children under sixteen engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries. These states were Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. In twenty-four states more than half of the children under sixteen at work were engaged in agriculture.

11. In only six states were more than 50% of the working children under eighteen employed in manufacturing. In sixteen states more than half of the working children of these ages were employed in agriculture.

12. Finally, in only five states were there more than

500 children under fourteen working in manufacturing industries. In twenty-three states the number of children of these ages employed in manufacturing was less than 100.

THE TREND

Is the number of young people at work in the United States increasing or decreasing?

The census of 1920 records a considerable decrease since 1910 in the number of children reported at work. Different conditions existing in these two periods account for some of the decrease reported: January, 1920 was at the beginning of a period of industrial depression, and January is a month during which employment in a majority of industries is at its lowest point. In 1920 also the employment of children was discouraged by a federal law, which was not in operation in 1910 and is not in operation at the present time. If allowance could be made for these different conditions, probably the greater part of the decrease would still be unaccounted for, and that part must be attributed to changing industrial conditions and standards, to public opinion, and to increased state regulation in connection with the school attendance, the conditions of work, and the age of starting work, of young persons.

Important facts revealed by comparing the 1910 and 1920 census figures are as follows:¹

1. In 1910, the number of children under sixteen engaged in gainful occupations was 1,990,225; in 1920 the number was 1,060,858. The decrease in ten years was 46.7%, while the total population of these ages increased 15.5%. The proportion of working children in this age group decreased from 18.4% to 8.5%.

2. A very large part of this decrease is found in agricultural pursuits, in which the number of children under sixteen decreased 54.8%,² while in manufacturing the decrease in the ten-year period was 29.0%. For children

¹In the 1910 census, no division of data was made for ages between sixteen and twenty-one years, therefore the following points compare numbers of employed children sixteen years of age and under.

²Census authorities advise against making comparisons of the figures for agricultural pursuits. See pp. 14-16 of this report.

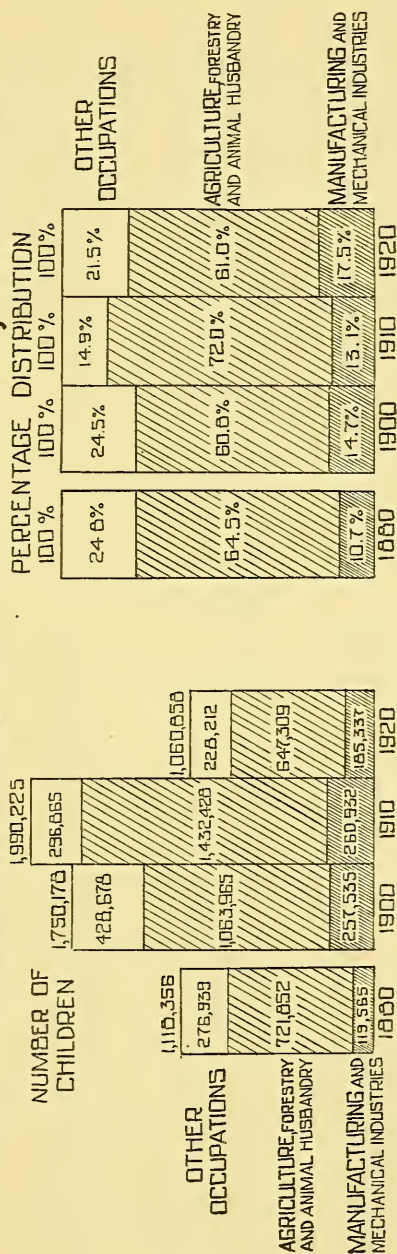
TABLE 5: CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS, BY OCCUPATIONS, 1910-1920

Occupations	10-13 years, inclusive				10-15 years, inclusive				Per cent change 1910 to 1920
	1910		1920		1910		1920		
	Number employed	Per ct. distrib- ution	Number employed	Per ct. distrib- ution	Number employed	Per ct. distrib- ution	Number employed	Per ct. distrib- ution	
Agriculture.....	800,135	89.3	328,958	87.0	1,432,428	72.0	647,309	61.0	- 54.8
Mining.....	2,358	0.3	647	0.2	18,090	0.9	7,191	0.7	- 60.2
Manufacturing.....	32,746	3.7	9,473	2.5	260,932	13.1	185,337	17.5	- 29.0
Transportation.....	2,679	0.3	1,899	0.5	20,800	1.0	18,912	1.8	- 9.1
Trade.....	17,519	2.0	17,213	4.6	70,700	3.6	63,368	6.0	- 10.4
Public service.....	63	(1)	153	(1)	537	(1)	1,130	0.1	+110.4
Professional service.....	578	0.1	621	0.2	3,566	0.2	3,465	0.3	- 2.8
Domestic and personal service.....	32,635	3.6	12,172	3.2	112,171	5.6	54,006	5.1	- 51.9
Clerical occupations.....	7,263	0.8	6,927	1.8	71,001	3.6	80,140	7.6	+ 12.9
Total.....	895,976	100.0	378,063	100.0	1,990,225	100.0	1,060,858	100.0	- 46.7
14 and 15 years									
Agriculture.....	632,293	57.8	318,351	46.6	12,659,082	33.2	10,953,158	26.3	- 13.5
Mining.....	15,732	1.4	6,544	1.0	965,169	2.5	1,090,223	2.6	+ 13.0
Manufacturing.....	228,186	20.9	175,864	25.8	10,628,731	27.8	12,818,524	30.8	+ 20.6
Transportation.....	18,121	1.7	17,013	2.5	2,637,420	6.9	3,063,582	7.4	+ 16.2
Trade.....	53,181	4.9	46,155	6.8	3,614,670	9.5	4,242,979	10.2	+ 17.4
Public service.....	474	(1)	977	0.1	459,291	1.2	770,460	1.9	+ 67.7
Professional service.....	2,988	0.3	2,844	0.4	1,693,361	4.4	2,143,889	5.2	+ 26.6
Domestic and personal service.....	79,536	7.3	41,834	6.1	3,772,559	9.9	3,404,892	8.2	- 9.7
Clerical occupations.....	63,738	5.8	73,213	10.7	1,737,053	4.6	3,126,541	7.5	+ 80.0
Total.....	1,094,249	100.0	682,795	100.0	38,167,336	100.0	41,614,248	100.0	+ 9.0

¹Less than one tenth of one per cent

CHART 2

CHILDREN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED—BY OCCUPATIONS, 1880 TO 1920



EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS

TABLE 6: CHANGE IN NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF

State}	10 to 13 years, inclusive						Per cent change in the number gain- fully employed 1910 to 1920
	1910			1920			
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		
		Number	Per ct.		Number	Per ct.	
Alabama.....	201,594	93,594	46.4	241,917	47,596	19.7	- 49.1
Arizona.....	14,628	620	4.2	26,547	1,268	4.8	+104.5
Arkansas.....	142,893	55,079	38.5	178,221	26,339	14.8	- 52.1
California.....	137,517	1,937	1.4	210,974	2,170	1.0	+ 12.0
Colorado.....	55,748	1,817	3.3	72,208	1,163	1.6	- 36.0
Connecticut.....	76,179	679	0.9	99,209	648	0.7	- 4.6
Delaware.....	15,179	1,294	8.5	16,377	239	1.5	- 81.5
Dist. of Columbia	19,626	247	1.3	23,774	259	1.1	+ 4.9
Florida.....	64,323	13,465	20.9	86,095	4,477	5.2	- 66.8
Georgia.....	251,607	93,098	37.0	293,294	44,997	15.3	- 51.7
Idaho.....	25,571	1,028	4.0	37,895	497	1.3	- 51.7
Illinois.....	413,586	10,551	2.6	481,731	3,634	0.8	- 65.6
Indiana.....	203,134	8,954	4.4	220,558	2,947	1.3	- 67.1
Iowa.....	177,323	6,493	3.7	183,143	1,967	1.1	- 69.7
Kansas.....	134,354	6,857	5.1	144,575	1,908	1.3	- 72.2
Kentucky.....	201,680	31,392	15.6	217,659	9,824	4.5	- 68.7
Louisiana.....	154,744	29,943	19.4	176,187	13,086	7.4	- 56.3
Maine.....	51,393	856	1.7	56,570	333	0.6	- 61.1
Maryland.....	103,361	7,366	7.1	112,191	1,768	1.6	- 76.0
Massachusetts..	227,569	1,683	0.7	271,812	1,431	0.5	- 15.0
Michigan.....	206,207	3,690	1.8	264,402	2,658	1.0	- 28.0
Minnesota.....	170,974	5,706	3.3	188,469	1,767	0.9	- 69.0
Mississippi.....	175,303	83,969	47.9	188,686	39,542	21.0	- 52.9
Missouri.....	256,241	18,175	7.1	268,988	4,323	1.6	- 76.2
Montana.....	23,702	524	2.2	42,021	343	0.8	- 34.5
Nebraska.....	97,433	4,192	4.3	106,692	1,272	1.2	- 69.7
Nevada.....	3,934	82	2.1	4,656	34	0.7	- 58.5
New Hampshire..	28,887	317	1.1	31,481	194	0.6	- 38.8
New Jersey.....	182,624	2,183	1.2	236,987	1,228	0.5	- 43.7
New Mexico.....	27,737	2,692	9.7	33,101	821	2.5	- 69.5
New York.....	628,422	4,852	0.8	733,957	2,822	0.4	- 41.8
North Carolina..	212,931	84,279	39.6	255,068	28,675	11.2	- 66.0
North Dakota...	47,763	2,856	6.0	60,983	971	1.6	- 66.0
Ohio.....	338,603	8,800	2.6	411,726	3,621	0.9	- 58.9
Oklahoma.....	148,335	24,608	16.6	199,649	11,129	5.6	- 54.8
Oregon.....	44,033	930	2.1	55,877	674	1.2	- 27.5
Pennsylvania...	567,216	14,770	2.6	692,458	4,846	0.7	- 67.2
Rhode Island...	37,241	334	0.9	43,695	186	0.4	- 44.3
South Carolina..	153,443	69,232	45.1	177,830	32,528	18.3	- 53.0
South Dakota...	48,254	3,363	7.0	53,743	651	1.2	- 80.6
Tennessee.....	193,010	44,535	23.1	221,804	18,170	8.2	- 59.2
Texas.....	364,682	102,064	27.9	438,132	40,559	9.3	- 60.3
Utah.....	32,201	1,130	3.5	41,766	738	1.8	- 34.7
Vermont.....	25,184	521	2.1	26,303	207	0.8	- 60.3
Virginia.....	189,401	29,234	15.4	214,347	8,604	4.0	- 70.6
Washington.....	73,888	1,285	1.7	95,259	1,105	1.2	- 14.0
West Virginia...	104,964	10,132	9.7	132,547	2,000	1.5	- 80.3
Wisconsin.....	195,663	4,260	2.2	209,063	1,702	0.8	- 60.0
Wyoming.....	8,733	308	3.5	14,245	142	1.0	- 53.9
United States...	7,259,018	895,976	12.3	8,594,872	378,063	4.4	- 57.8

EXTENT OF EMPLOYMENT

27

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED YOUNG PERSONS, BY STATES, 1910-1920

10 to 15 years, inclusive						
1910			1920			Per cent change in the number gain- fully employed 1910 to 1920
Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		
	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
298,965	154,712	51.7	349,537	84,397	24.1	-45.4
21,535	1,673	7.8	38,278	2,711	7.1	+62.0
213,792	92,450	43.2	259,593	48,140	18.5	-47.9
209,755	11,251	5.4	304,320	9,057	3.0	-19.5
82,971	5,864	7.1	104,790	4,558	4.3	-22.3
113,859	11,368	10.0	143,267	11,559	8.1	+ 1.7
23,085	3,656	15.8	23,809	1,406	5.9	-61.5
29,465	1,345	4.6	35,230	1,871	5.3	+39.1
94,765	24,924	26.3	123,852	10,864	8.8	-56.4
372,701	161,589	43.4	427,235	88,934	20.8	-45.0
37,775	2,698	7.1	54,641	1,608	2.9	-40.4
621,162	56,510	9.1	699,310	36,933	5.3	-34.6
305,127	33,693	11.0	323,979	16,911	5.2	-49.8
265,708	24,385	9.2	270,217	9,121	3.4	-62.6
200,794	18,730	9.3	211,706	7,270	3.4	-61.2
300,952	64,692	21.5	318,408	26,754	8.4	-58.6
228,937	59,732	26.1	258,052	32,274	12.5	-46.0
77,280	5,426	7.0	82,829	2,585	3.1	-52.4
154,088	24,167	15.7	164,546	12,300	7.5	-49.1
340,032	32,745	9.6	394,026	33,723	8.6	+ 3.0
307,695	19,293	6.3	384,213	13,154	3.4	-31.8
254,933	18,364	7.2	277,528	8,271	3.0	-55.0
259,358	138,530	53.4	275,782	70,354	25.5	-49.2
387,319	52,702	13.6	395,682	22,587	5.7	-57.1
35,224	1,764	5.0	60,045	1,402	2.3	-20.5
145,441	12,304	8.5	155,920	5,286	3.4	-57.0
5,827	286	4.9	6,715	169	2.5	-40.9
43,435	3,759	8.7	45,691	1,526	3.3	-59.4
272,302	25,792	9.5	341,185	26,024	7.6	+ 0.9
40,831	5,806	14.2	48,032	2,195	4.6	-62.2
934,086	65,094	7.0	1,059,635	49,846	4.7	-23.4
314,771	144,632	45.9	373,484	62,162	16.6	-57.0
69,996	7,352	10.5	87,883	2,816	3.2	-61.7
507,776	42,846	8.4	596,741	18,119	3.0	-57.7
220,104	46,111	20.9	289,533	22,981	7.9	-50.2
66,759	3,505	5.3	81,500	2,462	3.0	-29.8
846,607	96,895	11.4	996,916	55,671	5.6	-42.5
56,394	8,076	14.3	63,739	8,569	13.4	+ 6.1
226,112	117,252	51.9	260,204	63,520	24.4	-45.8
71,193	8,209	11.5	78,427	2,555	3.3	-68.9
289,315	83,956	29.0	323,548	39,837	12.3	-52.6
541,267	174,380	32.2	642,586	80,872	12.6	-53.6
47,303	3,231	6.8	60,675	2,361	3.9	-26.9
37,648	2,565	6.8	38,579	1,277	3.3	-50.2
281,237	61,879	22.0	311,915	25,493	8.2	-58.8
111,322	5,466	4.9	138,645	4,650	3.4	-14.9
155,001	23,802	15.4	191,299	7,431	3.9	-68.8
293,607	23,898	8.1	308,468	15,684	5.1	-34.4
12,754	866	6.8	20,387	608	3.0	-29.8
10,828,365	1,990,225	18.4	12,502,582	1,060,858	8.5	-46.7

under fourteen the percentage of decrease is much greater in manufacturing industries, 71.1% as against 58.9% in agriculture.

3. In non-agricultural occupations, the proportion of working children under sixteen years to the total number of children in the same age group, decreased from 5.2% in 1910 to 3.3% in 1920, or a decrease of 25.9% in the total number of children in non-agricultural pursuits. The numbers of children under fourteen in those occupations decreased from 95,841 to 49,105, almost 50%.

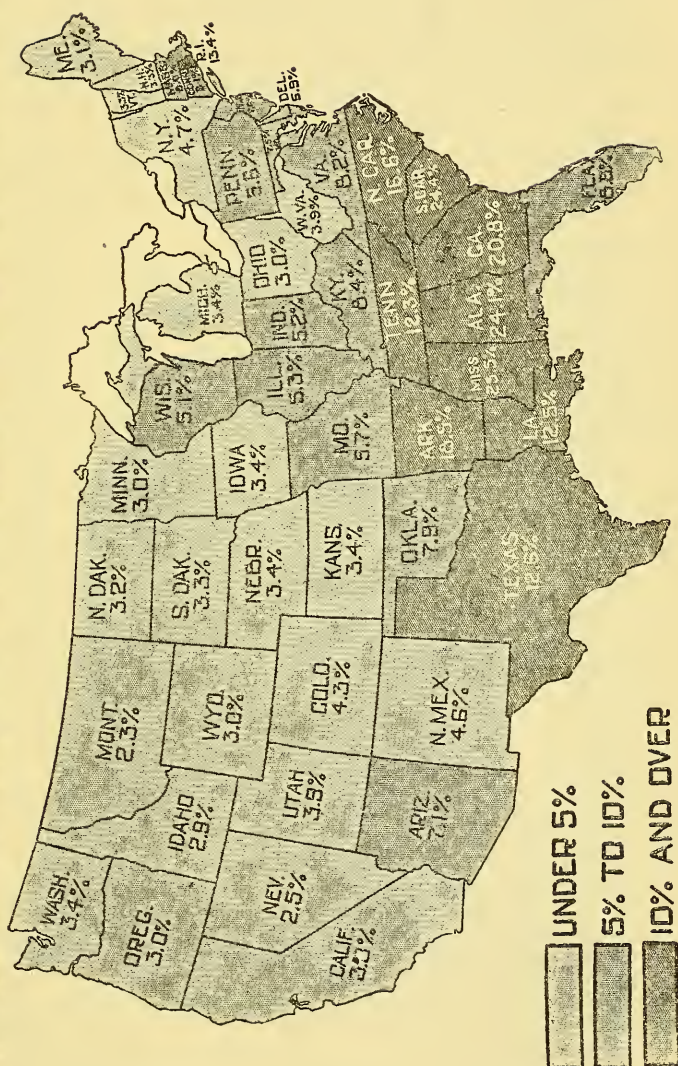
4. Among the more important non-agricultural occupations, the biggest decreases in the number of children under sixteen employed occurred among apprentices to dressmakers and milliners, coal mine operatives, laborers and semi-skilled operatives in the building and hand trades, laundrers and laundresses and servants, while the increases were particularly large among clerks (except clerks in stores), stenographers and typists, and garage, road, and street laborers.

5. Among the industries employing the largest number of young persons under sixteen, a large decrease (46.1%) occurred in cotton manufacturing although that industry still employs the greatest number of children under sixteen (21,875). Other large decreases were: 38.6% among clothing industry operatives, 43.7% in the lumber and furniture industry, 61.5% in coal mines, about 10% each in iron and steel, shoe factories, and woolen and worsted mills.

6. In the manufacturing and mechanical industries, a decrease of 50% or more in the number of children under sixteen employed in 1920 as compared to 1910, occurred in eleven states. Five states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, North Carolina, and South Carolina had the largest numerical decreases, i. e., over 5,000 children. Increases occurred in only six states, Massachusetts having the largest numerical increase.

The only extensive information concerning the amount of employment of young persons since the census of 1920

CHART 3
PER CENT TOTAL CHILDREN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED ARE
OF ALL CHILDREN 10 TO 16 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH STATE



are the statistics compiled by the Children's Bureau¹ showing the number of work permits issued from 1920 to 1923 in 35 industrial cities. These figures follow:

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BETWEEN 14 AND 16 YEARS OF AGE
RECEIVING REGULAR EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES FOR THE
FIRST TIME, 1921, 1922, AND 1923, BY STATE AND CITY.^a

State and City	1921	1922	1923
Alabama:			
Birmingham.....	166	139	240
Huntsville.....	252	189	208
Mobile.....	166	78	128
Montgomery.....	79	90	93
California: San Francisco.....	310	295	381
Connecticut:			
Bridgeport.....	871	806	1,032
New Haven.....	572	856	1,235
Waterbury.....	111	308	736
Delaware: Wilmington.....	171	423	(^b)
District of Columbia.....	959	693	(^b)
Indiana: Indianapolis.....	672	607	727
Kentucky: Louisville.....	186	351	795
Louisiana: New Orleans.....	(^c) 2,091	(^c) 2,031	2,445
Maryland: Baltimore.....	2,503	3,199	(^b)
Massachusetts:			
Boston.....	2,473	2,375	2,810
Fall River.....	904	1,574	1,176
Lowell.....	297	712	(^b)
New Bedford.....	841	(^d) 1,322	2,111
Somerville.....	(^e) 362	313	366
Springfield.....	194	581	698
Worcester.....	349	904	(^b)
Michigan: Detroit.....	264	288	277
Minnesota:			
Minneapolis.....	407	339	301
St. Paul.....	217	218	207
Missouri: St. Louis.....	3,865	4,468	(^b)
New Hampshire: Manchester.....	251	159	346
New Jersey:			
Jersey City.....	1,136	1,570	1,977
Newark.....	1,633	2,404	2,509
Trenton.....	508	791	974
New York:			
New York City.....	38,888	32,192	(^b)
Yonkers.....	418	401	814
Pennsylvania:			
Philadelphia.....	6,618	9,124	10,937
Pittsburgh.....	1,227	1,659	2,778
Rhode Island: Providence.....	(^f) 1,567	(^f) 2,083	2,463
Wisconsin: Milwaukee.....	2,359	2,556	3,780

(^a) Compiled, except where otherwise noted, from figures furnished by certifying officers, school officials, etc., in correspondence with the U. S. Children's Bureau.

(^b) Figures not available.

(^c) Reports of the factories inspection department of the Parish of Orleans for the year ending Dec. 31, 1921, p. 5, 1922, p. 1.

(^d) Annual report of the school committee of the city of New Bedford for the year 1922, p. 18.

(^e) Annual report of the school committee of the city of Somerville for the year ending Dec. 31, 1921, p. 84.

(^f) Annual reports of the agent of the school committee 1921 and 1922.

¹Proposed Child Labor Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 68th Congress, 1st Session; Serial 16, Washington, 1924, pp. 38, 39.

These figures suggest, although they do not prove, that the amount of employment of children of these ages may have increased since 1920. In using these figures, allowance must be made for the following factors: (a) Only industrial centers are included; (b) the total number of children of the ages covered in the places included is not known, so that the increase in the child population is ignored; (c) the increased number of certificates issued may mean only that methods of certification have improved; (d) certificates show the number of children *intending* to go to work, rather than those *at work*.

This evidence regarding conditions in large industrial centers is not supported, moreover, by the conclusions and data presented in annual reports of state labor departments and bureaus. A survey of these shows that decreases in the number of employment certificates issued were noted in twelve states—Colorado, Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin—in recent periods. In some cases decreases were noted since the nullification of the federal laws.¹ Only four states reported increases—Arkansas, California, New York and South Carolina, and in one of these the increase took place during the period of operation of the last federal law. No information is given in the reports of the remaining thirty-three states.

CHARACTER OF EMPLOYMENT

As a rule children who enter employment before reaching the age of sixteen have insufficient education or experience to obtain any employment other than one which is low in grade and involves manual labor. Such employment frequently offers little opportunity for advancement and the only skill which it provides is speed. After but a short time in an occupation, the child leaves one employment after another in search for a position of greater opportunity.²

¹See pp. 67-68.

²Wisconsin Industrial Commission, Biennial Report, 1920-1922, Madison, 1923, p. 39.

In a study made by Helen Sumner Woodbury of employment certificates issued to children between fourteen and sixteen years of age in Boston and the three neighboring cities of Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea, it was shown that, of 5,692 children to whom first certificates were issued, 68.9% entered clerical occupations (including office work; cash and messenger work of a department store; packing, wrapping, labeling and shipping room work; selling; errand and delivery work), 27.8% entered mechanical and factory occupations and 2.8% entered personal and domestic occupations.¹ Of those entering factory and mechanical occupations only about 7.7% were apprentices and helpers in skilled trades and the remaining were factory operatives. Of the latter the majority of minors entered shoe factories, clothing factories and other needle trades, textile mills and candy factories.² It has been stated that the kinds of work open to minors in boot and shoe factories are to tie and cut threads, polish and clean shoes, tag, lace and assemble parts of shoes; that the work open to minors in needle trades are pulling bastings and other manual work, but rarely any needle work; that the occupations open to minors in confectionery trades are packing and wrapping. These occupations are as a rule unskilled and poorly paid.³

In Waltham, Massachusetts, the study of children leaving school to work, already referred to, found that "the prospect for the large proportion of the boys and girls going to work between fourteen and sixteen years of age was unsteady work in monotonous and unskilled occupations, for small wages, with little chance of increase in earnings and considerable chance of enforced idleness."⁴ Of the workers entering clerical occupations in Boston, about 19% became cash and messenger workers in department stores, about 55% entered other messenger,

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Helen Sumner Woodbury, "The Working Children of Boston," Washington, 1922, p. 234.

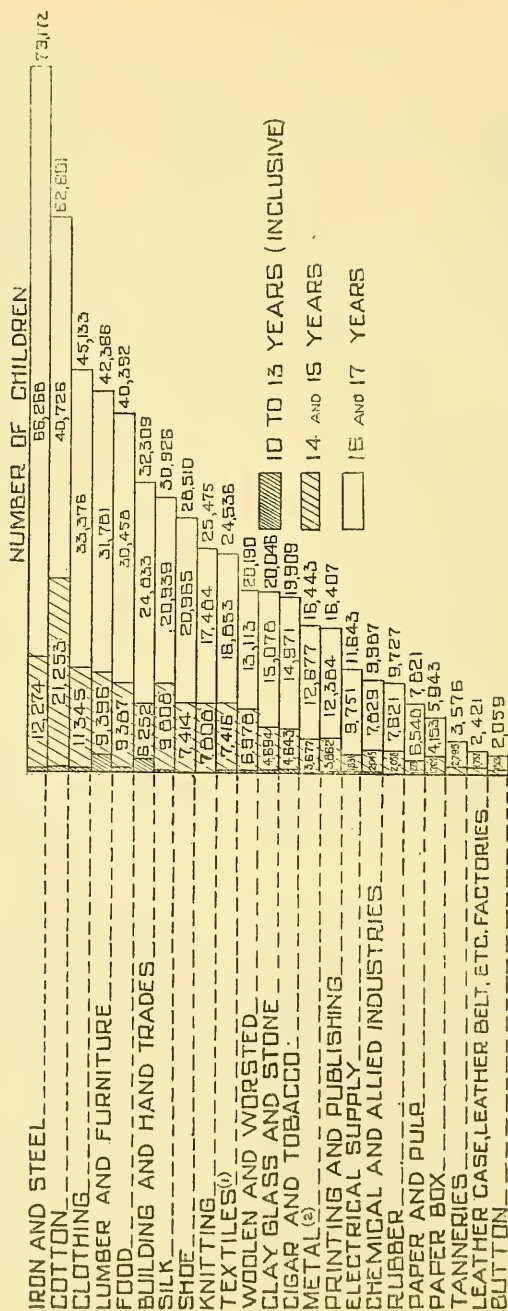
²*Ibid.*, p. 360.

³Raymond G. Fuller, *op. cit.*, Chap. I.

⁴U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "From School to Work," *op. cit.*, p. 40.

CHART 5

CHILDREN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED-BY MAJOR INDUSTRIES, 1920

⁽¹⁾ EXCLUDING COTTON, KNITTING, SILK AND WOOLEN AND WORSTED MILLS⁽²⁾ EXCLUDING IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES

errand and delivery work, about 10% entered office work, about 9% did packing, wrapping, labeling and shipping-room work and about 6% entered selling occupations.¹ Statements have been made that in but very few instances are errand positions such as lead into positions offering permanency and advancement, that employers have no intention of keeping messengers after they have passed the errand-boy age and are unwilling to accept the low wage required for the work.² The evidence as to the precise character of the work done by employed young persons, and as to its intrinsic value, is, however, too meager to warrant any conclusions of general application.

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "The Working Children of Boston," *op. cit.*, p. 360.

²Raymond G. Fuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS

How does work for parents or others, or the prohibition of such work, affect children, parents, education, economic life, government and society?

If we wish to regulate or prefer to leave free the activities of a certain class of persons it is obviously most desirable that we understand clearly what such regulation or freedom entails for the persons themselves, for their families and for the social, political and economic life of the nation. For each of these, therefore, we have to consider what the effects are of such work as is now being done, and what the effects of its regulation, limitation or prohibition might be.

It is obvious that these effects will depend in great measure upon the individual himself, his age, health, habits, family life; upon the family itself and its economic position; upon the occupation, the industry and the hours of work; upon local social and educational conditions; upon the character of the regulations imposed; and many other factors which make practically impossible any valid generalizations. In trying to estimate the significance of the work of young persons, however, the following are some of the main points to be considered:

EFFECTS ON THE INDIVIDUAL

Working or not working, under any conditions, will inevitably have some bearing upon the health, physical and mental development, educational equipment, moral character and economic position of the child. If we could isolate the effect on these things, of employment itself, in certain occupations and for certain hours, we would have a clear standard for measuring the relation of child labor to

the child himself. But each child is a separate problem. He comes of certain stock; his physical equipment and mental capacities are affected to an unknown degree by heredity. He is brought up in a certain family environment with certain habits of life, which affect health, mind and character. He may be more mature at a given age than other children. Work of a certain kind, under certain conditions, and schooling of certain kinds will affect him in a distinctive way, at different ages. For a given child, work at a given occupation, at a given age, under given conditions may be seriously injurious or may be salutary; or certain kinds of schooling may be desirable or useless. There are, of course, ways in which, for children of certain ages, prohibition of work, no less than work itself, may be disadvantageous. Admitting, however, that each child constitutes an individual problem, there exist at the same time, various general relationships between work, education, health, family life, and social and economic life in general, which apply to the great majority of children. The available information regarding these is discussed briefly in the following pages.

Health

It is universally conceded that labor which is injurious to the health of children should not be performed by them. The determination of the occupations which are injurious and the ages at which children are most seriously affected is difficult, however. The isolation of the effects of child labor on health is almost impossible. The early health history, together with habits of food, sleep and exercise before as well as during the work period are important factors influencing health. There is practically no body of authoritative information relating to the specific effects of industrial or other regular employment on children.

For the most part, reliance has to be placed on general studies concerning the physical characteristics of children up to eighteen years of age. Certain theoretical conclusions have been drawn from this material as to the

effects of labor at too early an age or under improper conditions.

The Committee of Physicians appointed by the Children's Bureau to "formulate standards of normal development and sound health for the use of physicians in examining children entering employment and children at work" stated that children under sixteen should not go into industry. Their reasons are as follows: "Since it is recognized that the physiological and psychological readjustments incident to pubescence (which in the vast majority of cases is not completed until the sixteenth year) determine a period of general instability which makes great and special demands upon the vitality of the child, it is of paramount importance that he should be protected during this period from the physical and nervous strain which entrance into industry inevitably entails."¹ The period of puberty is one in which the body experiences its most rapid growth in length; the muscles must not only grow longer but should grow stronger as well. The danger which a working child faces is that only certain muscles will be used. The unused muscles will then be weakened and the working muscles if overused will tend to degenerate.² This result may follow from employment which is not hard in the usual use of the term but which requires too constant use of one set of muscles. The child whose body is started wrong by early work is handicapped as a wage earner later in life.

A great deal more has been said concerning the necessity of limiting the number of hours during which a child may work, and concerning the conditions under which work might safely be done, than has been said on the subject of prohibiting all work because of the possibility of its having a bad effect on the health of the child. The American Medical Association at its annual meeting in 1914, passed a resolution commending those states which had adopted legislation to protect children under sixteen

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "Physical Standards for Working Children," Washington, 1921, p. 10.

²American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, January, 1907, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 21.

years of age in industry, and urging all other states to establish for such children a work day not to exceed eight hours, and to prohibit night work and hazardous work.¹ The same opinion in favor of the eight-hour day for children under sixteen was held by a majority of the North Carolina Medical Society, in answer to a questionnaire on the subject.²

Not only do the general characteristics of adolescence and the kind of task affect the health of the working child, though to an unknown degree, but the peculiar health condition of a child will determine how he is affected by a given job. A child with potential tuberculosis may be injured by work which may not have a particularly harmful effect on another child.

Because of the very general nature of the data concerning the effect of labor on children between fourteen and eighteen and because of the fact that an unsuitable task may work harm out of all proportion to its difficulty, no conclusion can be drawn as to just how much the health of child workers is being injured. The need of further and constant study of this question is obvious if working children are to be protected against bad health when they reach maturity.

The health problem for the child, while in some respects different, is in others similar to the health problem for adults, involving family education in hygiene, public effort toward sanitation, and provision of good working and living conditions in the home, on the farm and in the factory or store.

Education, Mental Development and Character

The relation of the work of young persons to these aspects of their welfare is even more complex and dependent upon individual differences and local circumstances than it is to their health. The only generalization possible is the obvious one that for their proper mental and moral

¹U. S. Senate, Interstate Commerce Committee, 64th Congress, 1st Session, p. 204.

²*Ibid.*, p. 171.

development children require adequate education, play and work. It is quite generally recognized by educators that useful work is no less essential than formal education and recreation, and some hold that participation in the productive occupations of his time and place has been the main factor in the mental development of the individual in all periods.¹

Just how much and what kind of work, schooling and play are best depends upon the individual child and his age. How much and what kind of each the child prefers and is able to get depends upon his nature, his family environment and economic position, the schools, industries and other institutions and facilities of his locality, as well as upon school and employment laws. To what extent the work young people in the United States now do interferes with, and to what extent the regulation of their employments would provide them with, the proper education, play and work cannot be ascertained from any adequate information now available. We have only census data regarding illiteracy, which means inability to write, and for juvenile delinquency for the various states, and scattered data for various localities and states regarding school attendance and expenditures, and retardation of pupils. It is hardly possible at this stage of knowledge to draw any valid general conclusions in this matter.

It must be remembered that for the child the choice is not between unpleasant and injurious labor and the proper education, play and wholesome work, but between the available schooling, play, work or idleness; and that this choice is limited by the necessity or preference of parents or children, by the adequacy of school and other facilities, and by the laws regarding school attendance and their enforcement.

Literacy and school attendance are not in themselves measures of educational progress of children or of the effect of work upon it. These, along with juvenile delinquency, are reflections of the influence of race, individual differences, rural or urban life, school facilities and standards, as

¹Cf. John Dewey, "School and Society," Chicago, 1913.

well as the effect of work. The ability to write can be acquired by most young children even on farms, in the years before they could enter any regular occupation, if the parents could or would teach them, if the children were encouraged to go to school, if they could go, or if they were required to go. The available information just referred to indicates that illiteracy is high among children from ten to fifteen years of age in states where there are many negroes and foreign born or where the population is largely rural. These are also usually states in which a relatively large percentage (over ten per cent) of children of these ages are working. But in other states, like Rhode Island, where there were a large number of children at work, illiteracy among them is low. Rhode Island is largely urban and has a long school term with a high average school attendance and higher than average per capita school expenditure. (See Table 1.)

All the states have some kind of schools and some kind of laws requiring children to attend them; but the school facilities and the standards and enforcement of the school laws differ widely. In general, where the average number of days of school attendance per child is small, the school term is short, the compulsory attendance standards low or not enforced and the per capita school expenditures relatively small. These states are largely rural and Southern and a relatively large part of their young people are working.

This would suggest that school facilities or the lack of them are more important as factors determining the state of literacy, than is the work of children. It cannot be assumed, however, that child labor in urban and rural communities is alike. The fact that children begin working in agricultural pursuits at a much earlier age than is usual in city work may account to some extent for the larger amount of illiteracy found among them.

It is difficult to separate cause and effect as between the work of young people and the illiteracy and school retardation which exist in these rural districts. The conditions exist side by side and one perpetuates the other. The

economic condition of the farmers, the custom and traditions surrounding the work of young people on farms, the factors which cause young people to work in rural districts are the same ones which to a large extent stand in the way of remedying the lack of school facilities and of raising educational standards.¹

Some data are available which indicate a relationship between the work of children in rural communities and their retardation in school. Studies of children working in the sugar beet fields of Michigan and Colorado show that from 20% to 30% more of them are retarded in school than of those who are not thus employed.² In another study of young persons working on truck farms in three Eastern states, about 71% of those between the ages of eight and sixteen were one year or more below their grades.³ A summary of the results of a study of 11,000 working children under sixteen in rural communities showed that from 38% to 69% of the white children and from 71% to 84% of the negro children were from one to six years behind their grades.⁴

Character defects are doubtless sometimes "lighted up" or aggravated by work or by the conditions and associates of work in which young people are engaged, but hereditary differences, family environment, "bad company" outside of work, physical defects, insufficient or ill-adapted education, the suggestion of moving pictures and newspapers, and many other influences apart from work itself may contribute to moral deterioration of minors. In the present state of knowledge of human behavior it is impossible to say with any scientific accuracy how different kinds of work affect the development of character of young people of different ages and characteristics or how the limitation of employment would foster it.

¹U. S. House of Representatives, Hearings before the Committee on Labor, 64th Congress, 1st Session, p. 20.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 8th Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1920, p. 15.

³U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 10th Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1922, p. 13.

⁴U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 11th Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1923, p. 13.

That crimes and delinquencies among children are somewhat more frequent among those employed than among others of the same age is suggested by the very limited data which are available on this subject. An investigation of delinquency among young people and its relation to their employment, which included seven large cities, showed that 56.5% of the 4,278 delinquent boys, and 62.2% of the 561 delinquent girls included in the study, were working children. By comparing these percentages with the proportions of working and non-working children in the total population, it is evident that delinquency is much more frequently found among working children than among those of the same age not working.¹

On the basis of the study just mentioned it was found that certain employments in which large groups of children were found accounted for a larger proportion of delinquents than their numbers in relation to the total number of employed children would justify. Newsboys and errand boys contributed the largest proportions of delinquents among the boy's occupations, while domestic service accounted for the biggest percentages among the girls.² Limitation or regulation of the employment of very young persons in employments having unusually large percentages of delinquents would undoubtedly decrease delinquency among children to some extent.

Whether the decreasing number of employed children is in any way a cause of the decrease in the delinquency of children, which is said by the National Probation Association to be taking place throughout the country at the present time³ is largely a matter of conjecture, but in view of the study already quoted, it is probably fair to assume that an increase or decrease in the employment of children, particularly in certain city trades, does have a direct relation to delinquency among children.

The problem of education and character development of the child and young person, like that of his health, is not

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 175, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

²*Ibid.*, p. 277.

³National Probation Association, multigraphed Bulletin, New York, 1925.

only a problem of his work, but also one of his individual bent and characteristics, his family life, the school facilities and standards, and all the social influences which his environment bring to bear upon him. His work may be limited or regulated, but this will not necessarily make it more wholesome or suited to the individual, nor will a general restriction of opportunities for young people to work on farms, in stores and in industry ensure them the proper schooling, recreation and work. Work may contribute to or seriously hamper education, character and health, according to the age of the child, the occupation, his family, the school and recreational and health facilities of the locality; but education and character, as well as health, are problems of the family and community life, no less than of industry and government.

Economic Position

Finally, working for parents or others, or not being able to go to work, obviously affect the economic position and the future earning power of young persons in a society that lives by work. Here again, however, the effect of employment varies with the age of the individual, the economic position of his family, his education, physical condition, and the economic character of the locality in which he lives.

To the extent that the young person's wages or his direct assistance are a substantial addition to the family income, or where the young worker is himself head of a family, as is sometimes the case, his work constitutes an immediate improvement of his economic position. To the extent that a young person of given intelligence and education enters an occupation which is either monotonous, non-progressive, perfunctory and transient or affords skill or knowledge and leads to permanent work, his future economic position is either harmed or improved. Such data as are available to throw light on any of these points are not comprehensive and conclusive.

It is not always possible for children to wait till they are eighteen before going to work, but the study by the U. S.

Bureau of Education, referred to above, showed that earnings of children beginning employment at eighteen tend to be greater than for children who began at fourteen and had four years' experience, as indicated in the following table:

Age	Earnings per week of those who left school at end of	
	Grammar School	High School
14.....	\$4.00	.....
15.....	4.50	.....
16.....	5.00	.....
17.....	6.00	.....
18.....	7.00	\$10.00
19.....	8.50	10.75
20.....	9.50	15.00
21.....	9.50	16.00
22.....	11.75	20.00
23.....	11.75	21.00
24.....	12.00	23.00
25.....	12.75	31.00
Total earnings till 25 years of age.	\$5112.50	\$7337.50

As will be pointed out later, in discussing the relation of young people's work to industry, very young workers are perhaps more susceptible to accident, both in factories and on farms, than older ones, and are less steady at their work. Both these facts suggest that very early entrance into employment, where possible, may not always be an economic advantage either to the child or the parent or the employer.

These considerations suggest again that the effect of going to work at a given age upon the immediate and future economic position of the young person is a problem of the selection of occupations, technical and trade education, apprenticeship, the situation of the family and the interests and characteristics of the individual worker, no less than a problem of limiting, regulating or prohibiting employment itself. Such regulation will not in itself necessarily improve the present or future economic position of young people in all cases, although such data as

exist tend to show that if limitation, or prohibition of the employment of young persons, particularly of the very young, were accompanied with an adequate educational program and facilities, it might, for the majority of such persons, improve their economic position.

EFFECTS ON ECONOMIC LIFE

Work not only affects the young people who do it and their own families; it affects all the other children and families of the nation. Every family and every child depends for his health, education and economic welfare not only on their own work but upon the work done by everyone else in producing and distributing the things needed. In our present society, neither the proper food, shelter, leisure, recreation, or education can be obtained by any young person or his family without the work of others contributing to it.

The welfare of the young people of the United States, however, is so important to the nation that the effect of their work upon themselves is of overwhelmingly greater consequence than the significance of that work for others. It has been seen what the problem is for the children themselves. How important is this work for others?

Here again the wide differences between localities and occupations and the age of workers make any generalization difficult. The census figures show that, if the number of children at work is a measure of their contribution to the economic life, the work of young people is far more important to agriculture than to any other part of our economic system. Most of the younger children are working on farms, and nearly all of these on their parents' farms. This contribution of direct labor is far more important in some parts of the country than others, depending on the nature of the agricultural work. If it is harmful to the children and must be limited, such limitation may seriously affect the economic situation in rural America, especially in some sections.

In the cities a great many of the children at work are contributing their efforts in stores, offices, and domestic or personal service. The number of young children under sixteen years, employed in manufacturing and mechanical processes and mining is about equal to the number found in all other occupations outside of agriculture. The value of their work in these processes is limited by many factors.

Labor Turnover

In the first place, especially for the younger children, their work is largely occasional, unsteady and unskilled and unprogressive. Where it is done in connection with some training or apprenticeship system, or with an eye to advancement, it is of advantage to the employer and to industry in so far as it contributes to the development of a more efficient working force, which is so much needed. Otherwise it tends to be economically wasteful. This is particularly true of younger workers in certain occupations, who are constantly coming and going, tending to create a high labor turnover. The only material on the turnover of child workers is that which analyzes the problem for a given group of children. The most recent and complete studies of this kind are four in number. One study deals with children working in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, under work certificates which expired during the five-year period ending May 1, 1921;¹ the second includes a group of working children in Connecticut who received their work certificates between September 1, 1911 and September 1, 1914;² the third deals with the children employed in Boston in the period from 1914 to 1916;³ and the fourth is a study of 245,000 employed boys of sixteen, seventeen and eighteen years of age in New York City in 1917.⁴

The Wisconsin report analyzed the work history of 8,774 boys and 7,500 girls employed in Milwaukee under

¹Wisconsin, Industrial Commission, "Child Labor in Wisconsin, 1917-1922, 1923," p. 21 ff.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "Industrial Instability of Child Workers," Washington, 1920, p. 22 ff.

³U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "The Working Children of Boston," *op. cit.*, p. 183 ff.

⁴Howard Burdge, "Our Boys," *op. cit.*, p. 197 ff.

regular permits, which expired during the five-year period ending May 1, 1921. No working child holds a permit for more than three years in Wisconsin and a new permit is required for each position entered.

This study gives a record of the number of jobs held during a given work history. There were 2,506 children who had worked less than 6 months; 75.8% of this number had had only one position, and 17.1% had had two positions. Of the 2,793 children with work histories of from 6 months to one year, 46.5% had had a single job and 26.9% more had held only two jobs, while 13.2% had had three jobs. The group of 5,061 children who had held permits for from one to two years included 22.6% who had had one job, 25.5% with two jobs, 17.7% with three jobs and 13.7% with six jobs or more. There were 5,914 children who had worked from two to three years and 31.4% of them had held six or more positions. The next largest group was made up of children who had had three jobs during the period, but these were only 15.7% of the total. When the whole group of 16,274 children is considered it is seen that 30.8% had held but one job, and 20.8% had had only two jobs. In general, boys averaged more jobs than girls and held their jobs for a shorter period. The Industrial Commission in analyzing the returns stated that they did "not show as high an average turnover as was anticipated."¹

In Boston 823 children were interviewed and classified in four groups on the basis of the steadiness of their employment. The table on the opposite page summarizes the findings of the investigation.

This table shows that the groups classified as restless and unsteady together make up 41.3% of the total, a per cent slightly lower than that of the combined groups "steady" and "active," but much higher than the single group classified as steady. While girls tend to be somewhat more unsteady in their employment than boys, this is held to be due rather to the kind of jobs which they

¹"Child Labor in Wisconsin, 1917-1922," *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22, 23. Certain apparent errors in the figures have been adjusted in the totals given above.

Steadiness at work ¹	Children	
	Number	Per cent Distribution
Total.....	823	100.0
Class A: Steady.....	190	23.1
Class B: Active.....	203	24.7
Class C: Restless.....	273	33.3
Class D: Unsteady.....	66	8.0
Class E: Undeterminate.....	91	11.1

¹Class A consists of children who each held only one position during work histories of one year or more; Class B consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate of less than 1 for every 6 months and more than 1 for every 12 months of their work history; Class C consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate less than 1 position for every 3 months and more than 1 for every 6 months of their work histories; Class D consists of children who held on an average new positions at a rate more than 1 position for every 3 months of their work histories; Class E consists of children who each held a single position which had not terminated at the end of a work history record of less than 1 year's duration.

held than to the inclination of the girls themselves. While 36.8% of the boys left their positions because they were laid off, 49.5% of the girls left their positions involuntarily. Of the boys 16.1% left to procure better jobs while only 9.4% of the girls changed on this account. Only 37.8% of the children interviewed changed employment because they were dissatisfied with their work. This includes the 13.1%, both boys and girls, who procured better positions.

In New York State the Military Training Commission's study of working boys of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen years of age included interviews with many thousand boys. The results of these interviews indicated "that boys hold their jobs for a comparatively short time and change for all sorts of trivial reasons. Boys were found who had left jobs with a chance for training and advancement for jobs with no such chance for very slight temporary increases in wages." Of the total number of boys studied, 50% had been at their present jobs less than six months.¹ Since this was during the War, however, the figures on turnover have less meaning than they would otherwise.

In Connecticut the number of positions held by 2,476

¹Howard Burdge, *op cit.*, p. 197.

children with individual work histories of 21 to 24 months was analyzed. Of this number, 33.8% had held but one position, 25.4% had held two positions, 13.1% had had five or more jobs. In general the girls were more steady in their employment than the boys, a situation directly contrary to that indicated in Boston.¹ When the work histories are classified as were those of children in Boston the per cents also show considerable variation. The following table gives the comparative percentage distribution in the two districts.² For definition of meaning of terms used see the preceding table.

Steadiness at work	Connecticut	Boston ^a
Class A: Steady.....	33.8	26.0
Class B: Active.....	43.1	27.7
Class C: Restless.....	20.9	37.3
Class D: Unsteady.....	2.2	9.0

^aBoston percentages are adjusted to omit the indeterminate class.

Productivity

The comparative productive value of the child at various age levels is another aspect of the economic importance of child labor of which little is known. The representative of the National Association of Manufacturers in his testimony before the House Committee on the Judiciary stated that "it is the general opinion of industrial management that (the) labor (of children under sixteen) is inefficient."³

The Kentucky Manufacturers' Association has urged its members "to employ no workers whatever under sixteen years of age,"⁴ although such employment is permitted by law. The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission found that the employment of minors in department stores

¹"Industrial Instability of Child Workers," *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²*Ibid.*, p. 25.

³Hearings, 68th Congress, 1st Session, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁴Associated Industries of Kentucky, Weekly Bulletin No. 344, p. 1.

was decreasing because the use of cash girls was considered inefficient.¹

An investigation of the canning industry in California shows the relative earnings of minors and adults on piece work. The adults earned more per hour than the minors on each kind of fruit canned and their average hourly earnings were 16.7 cents as compared with 13.9 cents for minors.² In general, minors were found to be decreasing in numbers because of the recognition on the part of employers of the inefficiency of child labor.³

Liability to Accident

Not only is the economic value of work of young persons in industry indeterminate and dependent upon individual and local factors, but their relative susceptibility to accidents is a consideration of great importance in determining their place in industry. The adoption of workmen's compensation laws in 42 states has emphasized this factor and stimulated more careful consideration of the employment of young workers.

Recent data on the relative accident liability among children of different age groups and among adults in the same occupations are very limited. The report on women and child wage earners made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics during 1907 and 1908 contains the most complete investigation of this problem. Accident figures were obtained in 37 New England cotton mills employing 28,609 operatives and in 89 Southern cotton mills with 35,962 employees for the year preceding the investigation. Each section is considered separately and the data are not such as to admit of comparison between the two sections. Children were employed in the less hazardous occupations in both the Northern and Southern mills. In the New England mills the accident rate was 2.5 per 100 for

¹Massachusetts, Minimum Wage Commission, Preliminary Report on the Effect of the Minimum Wage in Massachusetts Retail Stores, Boston, 1916, p. 22.

²California Industrial Welfare Commission, Report on the Regulation of Wages, Hours, and Working Conditions of Women and Minors in the Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry of California, Sacramento, 1917, p. 115.

³*Ibid.*, p. 114.

operatives sixteen years of age and over and 2.59 per 100 for employees of fourteen and fifteen years of age.¹ There were no accident figures for the few children under fourteen who were employed. The figures for the Southern mills, where many more children were employed, bring out the comparative accident rates more clearly. The accident rate per 100 employees sixteen years of age and over was 1.38, while it was 2.04 for children of fourteen and fifteen and 1.57 for children under fourteen. The accident incidence was higher in the case of males than females throughout. This tendency was more apparent among children under sixteen, however. Not only were children's accidents more frequent than those of the older group but they were at least as severe.²

A study of the 1920 accident records of a large textile mill in Connecticut showed that the accident rate per 100 employees under fifteen years of age was 37.1, for the group from fifteen to twenty it was 42.9, and for the employees twenty years of age and over, 21.6.³ The fact that the accident rate for children under fifteen was somewhat less than for young persons from fifteen to twenty was no doubt due to the fact that children under sixteen are forbidden to engage in many occupations which are considered peculiarly hazardous.

The Division of Women in Industry of the Department of Labor of New York State made an analysis of all compensable accident cases of children under eighteen years of age, during the year July 1, 1919 to June 30, 1920. In this study the group covered was limited to those workers under eighteen in industries covered by the compensation law, to those places of business subject to the law, and finally to those cases where the disability

¹U. S. 61st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document No. 645, Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, Vol. I, Cotton Textile Industry, Washington, 1910, p. 383.

²"Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners," *op. cit.*, p. 385.

³Amy Hewes, "Study of Accident Records in a Textile Mill," *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, October, 1921, p. 187 ff. The wide discrepancy between these rates and those quoted above suggests either an error in computation or a greatly different basis of classification of accidents.

lasted more than two weeks.¹ This report points out that "even in carefully managed factories and workshops, even with frequent and adequate factory inspection, the natural irresponsibility, carelessness and above all curiosity of youth subjects young workers to a greater accident hazard than more mature people. Then, too, it is often impossible to secure from adolescents a certain cooperative spirit which is almost necessary in the effective prevention of accidents."² The data available for use by the New York investigators were not comparable with those for adults, but certain conclusions were nevertheless drawn concerning age as a cause of accidents. Two hundred and eighty accidents out of a total of 1,817 occurred in the handling of objects. The dropping of heavy objects was responsible for 52 accidents and strain was responsible for 37 more. These accidents were held to have resulted because of the fact that children were working at tasks beyond their years. The majority of the other accidents in this group were such as to have been caused by awkwardness or carelessness on the part of the children suffering them.³

Accidents from hand tools, of which there were 68, were also of such a character as to indicate that the age of the worker might have been a contributing cause. Thirty-six accidents were due to wrestling, sparring and horse-play.⁴ So many accidents resulted from the operation of metal cutting and stamping machinery that the report recommended that no child under eighteen be permitted to work on such machines.⁵ The existing ruling did prohibit such employment for all children under sixteen. This report points out, as did the federal report on the condition of woman and child wage earners, that there was also a considerable per cent of serious accidents among those suffered by children. Twelve children were killed and 421 were maimed for life because of an industrial ac-

¹State of New York Department Special Bulletin No. 116, "Children's Work Accidents," p. 3.

²"Children's Work Accidents," *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 17.

cident. This means that almost one-fourth of all the accidents suffered by children during this period were such as to handicap the child throughout the remainder of his life.¹

It is this latter possibility which makes accidents to children so peculiarly important both from an economic and social standpoint. If children are more liable to accident than adults and their accidents are frequently of such a nature as to affect their whole working life and determine in large measure their contribution to the community, their employment at hazardous occupations is extremely undesirable.

The child labor laws in most industrial states recognize the greater accident liability of children under sixteen by prohibiting their employment entirely at certain tasks. The occupations forbidden in New York State, as follows, are an example of the kind prohibited elsewhere:

1. No child under sixteen years of age shall be employed in operating or assisting in operating any of the following:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Circular or band saws | n. Planers |
| b. Calender rolls | o. Power punches or shears |
| c. Corrugating roll making machines | p. Printing presses, job or cylinder, with power other than foot |
| d. Cracker machinery | q. Rolling mill machinery |
| e. Dough brakes | r. Sand paper machinery |
| f. Drill presses | s. Steam boilers |
| g. Laundering machinery | t. Washing, grinding or mixing machinery |
| h. Leather burnishing machinery | u. Wire or iron straightening machinery |
| i. Metal cutting or stamping machines | v. Wood jointers, wood polishers, wood shapers, wood turning or boring machinery |
| j. Paper box corner staying machines | |
| k. Paper cutting machines | |
| l. Paper lace machines | |
| m. Picker machines or machines used in picking wool, cotton, hair or upholstery material | |

2. No child under sixteen years of age shall be employed in or assist in:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. Adjusting belts to machinery | certain exceptions for those over 21) |
| b. Cleaning, oiling or wiping machinery | e. Manufacturing, packing or storing explosives |
| c. Cleaning machinery while it is in motion (applies to males under 18, females under 21) | f. Preparing any composition in which dangerous or poisonous acids are used |
| d. Operating or using any emery, polishing or buffing wheel (applies to males under 18, all females with | g. Any mine or quarry (applies to all females) |

¹*Ibid.*, p. 16.

The occupations prohibited because of their dangerous character vary somewhat from state to state but in general include very much the same list as that in New York State. Certain states, of which Wisconsin and Ohio are examples, further specify that the employer shall be held responsible if the child is set at an occupation which is dangerous even though that occupation is not expressly prohibited in the text of the child labor law.

The double or treble compensation clauses in workmen's compensation laws adopted by New York and Wisconsin, which provide that a child if injured when illegally employed shall receive double compensation in New York and treble compensation in Wisconsin have proved extremely efficacious in enforcing the child labor rulings.¹ This indicates that children's liability to serious accident is considered to be high, otherwise the necessity of paying extra compensation would seldom occur and the ruling would have no significance.

It must be remembered, however, that the regulation or prohibition of work for young people in industry does not in itself protect the young persons of the country against accident or its consequences. Many accidents happen, to young people especially, at home or outside of working hours, or in the course of working for their parents. Employment in industry, under proper protective and workmen's compensation laws may therefore give the young worker an advantage, and relieve him or his family of a possible burden while it puts a larger burden on industry itself. Moreover, since the larger number of children work on home farms, where accidents are more frequent than in other occupations and little or no protection is provided, it can hardly be said that the exclusion of young people from other occupations is considerate of the interest of the majority of the working children of the country.

Economic Disadvantage

Finally, it is questionable whether the instability, lower

¹This applies chiefly to Wisconsin, since the New York law is of very recent date.

efficiency and greater accident liability in the employment of children, are sufficiently offset by the lower remuneration which they demand to make their employment economically advantageous. As has been indicated in discussing the factors making for or discouraging the employment of young people, the rate of wages is only one element in the cost of production. Its importance differs in different industries and in different localities. In some parts of our economic life, such as agriculture in certain sections of the country or trade and transportation or office work in others, the lower remuneration or free labor of young workers may be of economic advantage to the employer or parent, even though the work is of little or no value to the worker. But in most manufacturing industries which have attained any large development the level of adult wages has risen so high relative to the price of the product, and the demand for large and economical production has so increased, that there is increasing pressure and tendency toward the use of complex, expensive and highly productive labor saving machinery and the introduction of highly organized methods of management, training and selection of personnel. The employment of very young workers in such industries under existing conditions would increasingly entail larger costs of training, selection, direction and protection of the working force and maintenance and repair of expensive equipment, all of which tend to render such labor costly in the end, however cheap it might be in the first instance. Because of the extent of the country and the wide difference in local conditions the employment of young workers in some establishments in certain manufacturing industries may give those industries or establishments a temporary and local advantage, but in time the effect of employment of immature workers is not to lower wages in the industry as a whole, but to raise them as competition makes it necessary to improve processes and develop skilled working forces. Various branches of the textile industry afford examples of this. Wage levels, production costs and competitive advantage in industry are affected by many factors beside the freedom

or restriction of employment of the relatively few young persons working in industry. The problem of such freedom or restriction is a problem of particular industries in special localities, and it is above all a problem for the young worker himself. Working or not working will affect him and his family first; it will affect agricultural occupations second, and all other industries and occupations last. The first of these is clearly the most important to be considered.

EFFECTS ON POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

Finally, the work of young people or their exclusion from work have important relations to government and social conditions. Some of these consequences have been implied in what has been said about health, education, moral development, economic position of the child himself, and about the relation of the work of young persons to economic life. In each respect it has been seen that the problem presented by the work of the young people of the country is in the first place a problem of the individual child, his age, family, position, race and locality, and in the second place, a problem of the public health, schools, industries and other institutions of the locality in which he lives. Government, and the society which it represents, have a responsibility in relation to the child and his work, for as his working or not working affects *him*, so it affects *them*. And it affects not only the community and government of the place where he lives, but ultimately that of all the places where he may go in later life.

But while the ultimate political and social effects are national, the causes, amount and character, and the effects of children's work upon the individual and upon economic life are special and local, differing so greatly from child to child and from place to place that the problem is the same in no two cases or places. These individual problems may be similar enough for a sufficient number of young people in particular situations or places to make them a local problem or a problem of particular industries. But they cannot be the same for all young

persons in any large part of the country. In such a situation any general measure that society and government may take to meet such a problem will exceed the need for some children and fall short of it for others, according to the number it seeks to cover and what it seeks to do.

Moreover, the causes, extent and effects of child labor may be such as to demand of the community and government in question not only prohibitions and restrictions, but positive action. In so far as the work of the young is harmful to health, mind or morals, in so far as it is necessary for the child, his family or for the economic welfare of the community, its citizens and government have in each case an obligation to the child. This may require the regulation, limitation or prohibition of employment; it may require the provision of more or better playgrounds and schools, and the stricter regulation of attendance; it may require the regulation of wages of parents or children, or the subsidy of families or dependents or the control or assistance of industries. Any or all of these may be required according to the need of particular children or groups of children in special situations or localities if it is desired to meet the problem through governmental action.

All these measures would necessarily involve expenses for the government, in the administration of prohibitory laws or in the provision of positive facilities for fostering education, recreation and economic independence. These expenses, which fall ultimately upon the taxpayers, would naturally be preferably borne by the society which immediately felt the need of them and whose children would receive the benefits.

The problem presented by the work of children is thus the problem of relating the activities of young people to the social and economic life of their place and time. It is a problem not only of excluding them from improper work, but of providing proper work, healthful conditions of life, adequate means of education, suitable recreation, economic freedom, family care and good social environment. This is a problem primarily for the *community* in

which they live and work. It is a problem for the *government* under which they live and work only to the extent that that government can make a positive and effective contribution to their welfare as well as protect them from harm.¹

¹While this report is necessarily confined to discussion of the question of juvenile employment in the United States, attention may be called to the work of voluntary Juvenile Advisory Committees, appointed by the Ministry of Labor and working in conjunction with local labor exchanges, in dealing with problems of juvenile employment in Great Britain. Increasing attention is being devoted to the improvement and development of apprenticeship systems and the President of the Board of Education and the Minister of Labour of Great Britain have recently announced their intention to appoint a committee "to inquire into and advise upon the public system of education in England and Wales in relation to the requirements of trade and industry, with particular reference to the adequacy of the arrangements for enabling young persons to enter into and retain suitable employment." See *The Economist*, London, June 27, 1925, p. 1283. The possibilities of fruitful voluntary cooperation between employers and governmental agencies in these directions have not yet been explored in the United States.

CHAPTER IV

THE REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS

What has been done by government in the United States to meet the problem of young people's work, as it presents itself today?

Since this study is concerned primarily with the immediate question of the method of meeting the child labor problem as it actually exists today, it is unnecessary here to review the history of the employment of young people and the relation between the development of our present industrial system and the development of various types of legislation for the protection of workers in general in the United States and other countries. This history has very little direct bearing on the present situation and the problem it presents, except that it indicates that effective protective or constructive legislation has always had to wait upon a public opinion thoroughly aroused to its necessity or desirability and that such legislation is not effective unless public opinion is behind it. This is particularly true of child labor legislation in the United States, where, because of the extent of the country and the varied character of the population and economic life, the problem of regulation, along with most other similar social questions, has impressed itself differently upon different states and has accordingly been approached in different ways. State legislation has, therefore, developed rapidly but unevenly, and in some degree in relation to local conditions. As a result of this development and of other changes in American life, the problem of child labor as it presents itself today is quite different from the child labor problem of ten or twenty years ago. Broadly speaking, as has been indicated, it has ceased to be so much a problem of protecting a class of industrial

workers, as a part of the far larger problem of ensuring to all children and young people of the nation the best conditions for physical, mental and moral development.

Opinions on the proper method of meeting the child labor problem have differed. Of the two largest and most articulate groups of opinion at the present time, one holds that the problem varies so greatly from one locality to another that any regulation of it should come from no larger governmental unit than the state. A second class of opinion holds that, since the problem is so broad and of national importance, it can be met only by federal action which would provide a basis of uniform standards upon which the states could build such special remedies as their special conditions might dictate.

Since the time when the question of federal action became a question of amending the federal constitution, the current political theories favoring a centralization or decentralization of government, theories influenced by many considerations apart from the problem of child labor, have added many proponents to both groups of opinion on the problem of child labor. In considering both the state and federal efforts to meet the problem, several considerations should be borne in mind.

In the first place, as has just been pointed out, the child labor problem as it exists in this country today is not only a problem of limiting work by law, but a problem of constructive action in fostering the welfare of young people in and outside of their work. Accordingly the laws which regulate employment or the school attendance of young persons in the United States constitute only part of the picture of what is being done to meet the child labor problem. Government makes other provision for the economic assistance of dependent children, for their protection against and compensation for accidents during work, for their education in special ways, for their health in the home and at work, for their protection against detrimental moral influences, as well as for the maintenance of their rights as individuals. Industry, churches and other private organizations in the communities also contribute in

various ways to the positive effort for the welfare of young people. Through careful selection and training of workers, through apprenticeship systems and trade schools, through medical service in industrial establishments, improved lighting, ventilation and sanitation of working places, through cooperative educational arrangements, many industries are seeking to make the work of all persons employed by them safe, salutary, and fruitful. This work and the work of other private organizations in these and other directions is too varied and extensive to permit of description, but it cannot be ignored in considering the extent, character and rôle of legislation in relation to the child labor problem. The presence or absence of legislation regulating employment does not in itself imply that the interests of young people in work, mental and moral education, recreation, health or economic independence and opportunity are or are not being fostered. There are obviously many aspects of these problems which legislation cannot touch.

Moreover, it must be remembered that even where legislation affecting the employment of young persons exists, its effectiveness depends upon its enforcement. Actual conditions under a good law poorly enforced may be worse than those existing under lower legislative standards which are enforced. The ineffectiveness of a law, therefore, may not indicate the need of new laws so much as it may argue the need of better enforcement.

Finally, it should be noted that the adequacy of a law must be judged in the light of the need which it has to meet, according to the conditions which exist among the group to which it is applied. The presence of a certain stipulation in a law does not necessarily mean that more children are being protected against a condition, nor does the absence of a provision mean that fewer children are protected, if the condition to which the law applies does not exist in that place. Low school attendance requirements or the lack of prohibition against certain employments may be of little significance if the school facilities do not permit greater attendance or if the kind of work in

question is not done to any extent in the community to which the laws apply.

An abstract of the legislative restrictions regarding the work and schooling of young persons in each state is given in the Appendix together with the census data regarding employment, and these regulations are summarized in Table 7. The latter summary covers the more important restrictions upon the employment and the school requirements of children under sixteen, and relates to the work of such persons in manufacturing (including canneries), trade and mining occupations. It should be noted that there are many more regulations affecting the employment of persons over sixteen which are not here taken account of because they overlap the field of general labor legislation covering all workers. There are, in addition, laws concerning hazardous and injurious occupations, and workmen's compensation laws, covering both young and adult workers, which could not be included here. Iowa and Ohio have made some attempt to regulate the work of children in agricultural occupations, but agriculture and domestic service are generally not covered by legislative provisions.

The present legislative situation in the states may be described in general terms as follows:

STATE REGULATION

1. Every state has laws which to some degree limit and regulate the work and protect the education of children. In addition, forty-two states have mothers' pension laws and workmen's compensation laws which alleviate to a certain extent at least the necessity of work of young children or the consequences of accidents or injuries to health of children legally at work. Since May, 1922, twenty-two states have passed laws regarding the minimum age, hours of labor, night work, physical or educational requirements, compulsory school attendance of children, or some aspect of the administration or enforcement of these provisions.

TABLE 7: SUMMARY OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAWS APPLYING TO CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN FACTORIES AND STORES¹

State	Minimum age factories and stores	Physical examina- tion	Daily hours labor	Weekly hours labor	Night work	School grade require- ments	Compul- sory school- ing until ²	Min. age for boys in mines
Alabama ^a	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	5th Gr. ¹	16	16
Arizona ^a	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	5th Gr.	16	18
Arkansas ^a	14	Not req.	8	48	Proh.	4th Gr.	16	16
California ^b	15	Required	8	48	Proh.	7th Gr.	16	16
Colorado ^a	14	Not req.	8	48	Proh.	No req. ^m	16	16
Connecticut.....	14	Required	* 8 ^h	48 ⁷	*Proh.	6th Gr.	16	16
Delaware ^b	14	Required	† 8	48	†Proh.	8th Gr.	17 ^a	16
Florida.....	14 ^c	Optional ¹	9 ^h	54	Proh. ^d	No req. ^m	16	No law
Georgia ^b	14 ^d	Not req.	No law	60	Proh. ^d	No req. ^z	14	No law
Idaho ^a	14	Not req.	9	54	Proh.	No req. ^m	18	14
Illinois.....	*14	Required	8	48	Proh.	6th Gr.	16	16
Indiana.....	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	8th Gr.	16	16
Iowa ^b	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	6th Gr.	16	16
Kansas.....	*14	Not req.	* 8	48	*Proh.	8th Gr.	16	16
Kentucky.....	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	5th Gr.	16	16
Louisiana.....	14	Not req.	10	60	Proh.	No req.	15 ^p	14
Maine.....	15	Optional ¹	† 8 ^h	54	†Proh. ^d	6th Gr.	17	15 ^u
Maryland.....	*14	Required	† 8	48	†Proh.	5th Gr.	17 ^v	16
Massachusetts....	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	6th Gr.	16 ^e	14 ^e
Michigan ^a	*15	Optional ¹	†10	54	†Proh. ^d	6th Gr.	16	15 ^w
Minnesota.....	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	8th Gr.	16	14
Mississippi.....	14 ^d	Not req.	† 8 ^h	44	†Proh. ^d	No req.	15	No law ^r
Missouri ^b	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	No req.	16	16
Montana ^a	16	Not req.	8 ⁱ	48 ⁱ	Proh. ⁱ	8th Gr.	16	16
Nebraska.....	14	Optional ¹	8	48	Proh.	8th Gr.	16	14 ^s
Nevada.....	14	Not req.	8	48	No law	No req.	18	16
New Hampshire....	14	Required	10 1/4	54	Proh.	No req. ^m	16	14 ^s
New Jersey ^a	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	5th Gr.	16	18
New Mexico ^b	14	Not req.	8	48	Proh.	No req.	16	14
New York.....	*14	Required	* 8	48	*Proh.	8th Gr.	16	16
North Carolina ^b ...	*14	Required	11	60	*Proh.	No req.	14	16
North Dakota.....	14	Not req.	8	48	Proh.	8th Gr.	17	16
Ohio ^a	16	Required	8	48	Proh.	7th Gr.	18	16
Oklahoma.....	14 ^d	Optional ¹	8	48	Proh. ^d	No req. ^m	18	16
Oregon ^a	14	Optional ¹	8	48	Proh.	8th Gr.	18	16 ^t
Pennsylvania.....	14	Required	9	51	Proh.	6th Gr.	16	16
Rhode Island ^a	15	Required	10	54	Proh.	6th Gr.	16	14 ^s
South Carolina....	14 ^d	Not req.	10	55	Proh. ^k	No req.	14	14
South Dakota ^b	14	Not req.	10	54	Proh. ^j	No req. ^m	17	14
Tennessee.....	*14	Not req.	* 8	48	*Proh.	No req. ^m	17	16
Texas ^b	15 ^d	Not req.	10	48	No law	No req.	14	17
Utah.....	No law	Not req.	† 8	48	No law	8th Gr.	18	16
Vermont.....	*14 ^d	Not req.	* 8 ^h	48	*Proh. ^d	8th Gr.	16	16
Virginia ^a	14	Required	8	44	Proh.	No req.	14	16
Washington ^b	14	Not req.	8	48	Proh.	"	16	16
West Virginia ^a	14	Required	8	48	Proh.	6th Gr.	16	16
Wisconsin ^a	14	Optional ^e	8	48	Proh.	8th Gr.	16	18
Wyoming.....	No law	Not req.	8	48	Proh.	No req.	17	14
Dist. of Columbia ^b	14	Optional	8	48	Proh.	No req. ^m	14	14 ^r

Footnotes for Table 7

¹Provisions applying to agricultural pursuits, domestic service, street trades or theatrical exhibitions are not included. Wherever canneries are mentioned in the law, the fact is noted. Data on compulsory school attendance and work in mines applies to children over 16 years as well as under.

*Canneries specifically included.

†Canneries specifically excluded.

*Exemptions apply only to work done outside of school hours or in school vacations. (Montana exemption applies to work outside of factories).

¹Exemptions apply to work done during the school period. (North Carolina exemption applies only to work in stores.)

²12 years in stores.

²No provision for stores.

*Required in Milwaukee. Optional to permit issuing officer otherwise.

¹If permit issuing officer requires it.

²58 hours per week in stores.

¹Does not apply to stores.

¹For females only. Employment of children under 16 in factories is entirely prohibited.

¹Under 14 years, work in stores prohibited after 7 p.m.; no provision for factories. 14 to 16 years, no provision for stores or factories.

¹No provision for stores except that employment of females is prohibited after 10 p.m.

¹6th grade, Sept. 1, 1926.

*Proficiency in certain subjects required.

*Labor law provides for several permits or certificates, for which there are no educational requirements. Where continuation schools are established, child between 14 and 15 who wishes to obtain employment must have graduated from 8th grade or present proof that he "can not profitably pursue further regular school work;" no educational requirement for child 15 or over.

¹In Wilmington, 16 years (14 years, employed; exempt.)

¹In Parish of Orleans, 16 years.

¹In Baltimore, 16 years (14 years, employed; exempt.)

*Every state has exemptions to its age requirements. The most important grounds of exemption are (1) 14 years and finished specified school course, 5 states; (2) 14 years and employed, 12 states; (3) completed specified school course, 23 states; (4) 14 years, employed finished specified school course, 7 states; (5) poverty, 11 states.

*Mining industry of no importance.

*Board of inspectors of child labor, under its power to refuse to issue certificates to children not physically able to do the work required, refuses to issue certificates to children under 16 to work in mines or quarries.

*No specific provision. Minimum age in any business or service during school hours is 15.

*No specific provision. Minimum age for all employment during school hours is 14.

*Applies during school hours only.

*No specific provision. Minimum age in any business is 14 (15 during school hours).

¹In Baltimore 16 years.

*Attendance at school for 12 weeks during the preceding year, before employment certificates are issued.

2. Every state except Utah and Wyoming¹ prohibits the employment of children under fourteen in factories, with exemptions chiefly for work outside of school hours or in case of poverty. All but nine states similarly prohibit the employment of children under fourteen in stores, and one of these, Florida, prohibits it below the age of twelve.

3. Five states prohibit the employment of persons under fifteen and two states that of persons under sixteen in either factories or stores, or both, with exemptions only in cases of poverty or in accordance with school requirements.

4. Thirty-two states, including all those in which mining is an important industry, prohibit the employment of children under sixteen in mines. Of the remaining states, two impose a fifteen-year limit during school hours only, eight a fourteen-year limit and three a fourteen-year limit during school hours only.

5. Every state prohibits the employment of persons under sixteen in dangerous or injurious occupations, and in twenty-two states persons sixteen and over are prohibited from all or certain of such occupations.

6. Thirty-five states and the District of Columbia limit the industrial work of children to eight hours per day;² and one additional state limits the employment of females to eight hours per day. Only four of these states exempt work in stores from this restriction. In all but four states night work of children is prohibited in factories, and in thirty-five states and the District of Columbia it is forbidden in both stores and factories.

7. Every state now has compulsory school attendance laws, usually for the entire term and including children up to sixteen years of age who have not finished a specified grade or are not employed. Only seven states and the District of Columbia have a lower maximum age for school attendance than sixteen, and thirteen require at-

¹Utah and Wyoming have little manufacturing industry and rather high compulsory school attendance requirements.

²Canneries are exempted in five states.

tendance to seventeen or eighteen. Thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia require an educational minimum before the child may begin work, although only twelve of these require as much as a common school education.

8. In twenty-two states a physician must pass on the child's physical fitness for work, and in seven others, as well as the District of Columbia, the officer issuing work certificates may require a physician's certificate of fitness.

Nearly all of the state laws carry a great variety of provisions for the exemption of young persons from their operation under certain circumstances. These exemptions usually relate to the economic position of the worker, to the educational requirements in the state and to distinctions between factory work and work in stores and similar occupations. The degree to which they weaken the law depends of course upon the way in which they are applied.

FEDERAL REGULATION

The first proposals for a federal child labor law were made in December, 1906, when the Beverage-Parsons bill was introduced into Congress. This bill provided that the carriers of interstate commerce should not transport the products of any factory or mine that permitted the employment of children under fourteen years of age. Senator Lodge sponsored a similar measure in 1907 and in several Congresses thereafter a bill restricting child labor was introduced, but without success. Both the Republican and Progressive parties in 1912 favored a federal child labor law and in 1916 the Democratic as well as Republican party stood for the immediate enactment of such a law.

Almost ten years after the first proposals of a child labor law the first federal law was adopted. This law, which was signed by the President September 1, 1916, to be effective on September 1, 1917, forbade the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce (1) of the product of a mine or quarry in the United States in which, within

thirty days prior to the removal of the product children under sixteen years had been employed or permitted to work, and (2) of the product of a mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment in the United States in which, within thirty days prior to the removal of the product, children under fourteen had been employed or permitted to work, or children between fourteen and sixteen had been employed more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any week or between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. This law was in effect only nine months and three days when it was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in a five to four decision on the ground that the law was not a legitimate exercise of Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce.

On February 24, 1919, Congress enacted, as a part of the Revenue Act of 1918, a provision for a tax of 10 per cent in excess of all other taxes on the annual net profits from the sale or disposition of products of mills, canneries, work shops, factories, manufacturing establishments, mines or quarries employing children in violation of the standards laid down in the act. These standards were the same as those established in the first federal child labor law. This second law became effective on April 25, 1919, but was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on May 15, 1922, on the ground that it was not a valid exercise of Congress' right to levy and collect taxes.

It was recognized by the Court in both decisions that Congress had sought in both laws to exercise its granted powers of regulation of commerce and taxation for an ulterior purpose the authority for which had been reserved to the states. The decisions, therefore, made it evident that Congress could secure the power to regulate child labor only through an amendment to the Constitution.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF FEDERAL REGULATION

So far as further legislative regulation of employment of young persons is concerned, the main question today is whether federal regulation shall be added to that provided by the states. Since federal regulation is not possible without a constitutional amendment, the question resolves itself into one of the necessity or desirability of such an amendment. Two clearly distinguishable questions are here involved. The first is the general one as to whether, in view of experience under the two earlier federal laws, and in view of the child labor problem as it now presents itself, federal regulation is necessary or desirable. The second is the specific question as to whether a constitutional amendment of the kind proposed is or is not in itself objectionable from the point of view of public policy.

It should be recognized that, in contrast to all the other aspects of the child labor problem, so far discussed, these questions are largely hypothetical. That is, they involve contrasting individual interpretations of facts and conflicting opinions and attitudes regarding policy and theory of government. It is therefore possible only to set forth objectively the views on both sides, as they have been expressed in recent discussion of the problem.

EXPERIENCE UNDER FEDERAL REGULATION IN THE PAST

The only objective guide available for judgment on the desirability of further federal regulation is the working of the two federal laws which were abrogated. These two laws were in operation only a comparatively short time, they did not directly prohibit or regulate child labor, and they related only to certain minimum standards of employment in factories and mines. Moreover, there is no objective standard by which to measure their effective-

ness. Opinions therefore naturally differ as to their significance as a test of federal regulation in general. The principal questions in this connection appear to be as to the effect of the two federal laws upon the standards and enforcement of state legislation, and as to the cost and extent of administrative machinery which they involved.

Evidence adduced in the Congressional hearings in this connection is held to indicate that considerably greater improvement in the standards, administration and enforcement of state legislation took place during the period of the federal laws than either immediately before or immediately after.¹ During the year after the second federal law was declared unconstitutional, the legislatures of thirty-two states where the standards of child labor protection were in some particular below the former federal standards, were in session, but so far as could be learned by correspondence, only eight of the thirty-two made any improvement in age or hour standards, and in none of them were the state standards brought up to those of the federal laws.²

In addition to arousing interest which resulted in an increased amount of legislation on this subject, the federal laws are held to have had even more effect in stimulating better and more thorough enforcement. This is considered to have been brought about largely by the fact that state certificating methods were improved wherever possible through federal-state cooperation, in order that the duplication of a separate federal system might be avoided, and also because the federal laws increased respect for the state laws. The possibility of prosecution in a federal court seemed to have much more effect than possible prosecution by the state, particularly in the localities or state where it was difficult to get a conviction from a state court.

This, at least, is the opinion of state officials, as reflected in replies to a questionnaire sent out to the states

¹U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, 68th Congress, 2nd Session, 1924, pp. 44, 46.

²U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Eleventh Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1923, p. 12.

recently by the National Industrial Conference Board, asking whether the federal laws had simplified or made easier the enforcement of the state child labor laws. Of the officials of twenty states from which answers have been received to date, two-thirds replied that the federal laws helped the states very materially. Of the other one-third, five said the federal laws had no effect on their state administration, and three said they did not help.

That state labor officials are on the whole very much in favor of federal regulation of child labor on the basis of experience under the two federal laws is further borne out by resolutions favoring national control of child labor which were passed at the Fifth and Tenth Annual Conventions of the Association of Government Labor Officials, and by statements in the reports of state labor departments.¹

It is obviously difficult, however, to prove any causal connection between the federal laws and changes which took place in state legislation during the period in question. On theoretical grounds, moreover, it has been argued that federal laws of the indirect character of the two under discussion—involving only a restriction of interstate commerce in products of child labor or a tax on them—could not of themselves have logically created an incentive to raise state standards or to create stricter enforcement, and that the changes in state legislation may well have been merely a normal development.

The same question exists in respect to the effects of the federal laws upon the number of children employed. Deductions made from existing data are inevitably inconclusive. For example, the number of child workers reported by the census for the period from 1910 to 1920, showed larger decreases to have taken place in the states where the unsatisfactory character of state law or administration had necessitated the issuance of federal certificates as in Virginia (46.6%), Georgia (50%), North Carolina (53.2%), and South Carolina (62.5%) than in

¹Statements in such reports, where made, are generally in favor of federal regulation, except in the case of Connecticut.

any other states except those in which the minimum age for entering industry was raised during the period.¹

Reports of state labor departments in some cases give similar indications. For instance, the annual report of the factory inspector of Rhode Island for 1921 states that the federal child labor law served in three years to reduce 42% the children under sixteen years employed in the mills and factories of Rhode Island.

Some evidence, too, points to a greater employment of children immediately after the first law was declared unconstitutional. In 686 factories inspected by the U. S. Children's Bureau while the law was in effect, 383 children under fourteen years of age were found to be employed, and 1,094 children from fourteen to sixteen were found to be working more than eight hours a day or at night. In the few months after the law was declared unconstitutional, 392 factories were inspected and in these were employed 909 children under fourteen and 3,338 under sixteen, working in excess of eight hours a day, or at night.² The Arkansas report shows a smaller number of employment certificates issued during a two-year period from 1917 to 1919 as compared with the period of one year and five months from 1917 to 1919. California, New York and South Carolina show increases in the year 1923 as compared with 1922. Eight other state reports, however, show decreases in the number of certificates issued since the second federal law was nullified. But for reasons already indicated, these few data on the issuance of certificates are not conclusive indications of the trend in employment of young persons.

Comprehensive data permitting comparison of conditions before, during and after the period of the federal laws are unfortunately lacking. Comparisons between the census of 1910 and that of 1920 are naturally open to the question as to how far any decrease in employment noted may not have been due to the forces which com-

¹U. S. Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, 67th Congress, 4th Session, 1923, p. 29.

²*Ibid.*, p. 36.

bined generally to reduce the number of children in gainful occupations during the ten-year period. Likewise, it appears that the decline in employment noted in state reports during this period in some cases continued after the suspension of the federal laws, down to the present time. Moreover, the entire period of the two federal laws, from 1917 to 1922, was one of exceptional changes in industrial conditions and in employment, which make it difficult to trace specific effects of special legislation of this kind.

Another question often raised in connection with federal regulation is that of cost and the amount of administrative machinery necessary. Both federal child labor laws cost about \$150,000 a year. The first law was administered by a staff of 51 persons, including 17 inspectors and 22 certificate issuing clerks. Federal machinery appears not to have duplicated state machinery, but was set up only where state enforcement did not exist or where such as did exist was considered inadequate. All state officers charged with enforcement of state child labor laws were commissioned inspectors under the federal law. Since the two federal laws were of special and indirect character and did not involve direct regulation of employment, it is hardly possible to forecast the cost and administrative machinery of any general federal law on the basis of them.

THE NEED AND DESIRABILITY OF FURTHER FEDERAL REGULATION

As has been indicated, the discussion of the problem of future federal legislation involves, on the one hand, varying interpretations of the present situation in respect to the employment of young persons, and on the other, divergent views of the soundness or wisdom, from the standpoint of political theory, of the constitutional amendment which would be necessary to give Congress the power of federal regulation. Considering these questions separately, the views on them which have been

brought forward in recent discussion may be summed up as follows:

The need of further federal regulation, it is felt, is apparent from a careful consideration of the statistics concerning the amount of child labor and of the legislative situation in the states.

The census of 1920, which in the judgment of the Bureau of the Census gave too low an enumeration of the number of children actually gainfully employed, showed that more than a million children from ten to fifteen inclusive were gainfully occupied, and that, of these, 413,549 were employed in other than agricultural pursuits and that 63,990 of the 647,309 who were enumerated as being in agricultural occupations were not at work on the home farm.

Furthermore, it is pointed out, the census does not report the number of working children under ten years of age. But, it is believed, there are many children under ten working in agricultural pursuits, street trades, tenement homework, domestic service and canneries, under unsanitary conditions, for long hours, and with detriment to their health and education; and there are many older children whose employment in these and other occupations is regular and seriously interferes with school work, although they may not have been employed in January, when the census was taken.

In the opinion of some, the amount of the decline from 1910 to 1920 in the number of children reported in the census as working, does not indicate that child labor conditions are improving to that extent. The decline is partly credited to the fact that the 1920 census was taken in January, while the 1910 census was taken in April, and partly to the business depression of 1921 and to the operation of the federal law which taxed the products of child labor.

Moreover, it is believed that while in non-agricultural occupations much of the decline may represent a real decrease in numbers employed, at the same time there were, in 1920, almost half a million children ten to sixteen years

old in such occupations, nearly one-half of whom were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

Finally, it is the opinion of the Children's Bureau that child labor has been on the increase since 1920, and that "a new cycle in child labor is beginning." The basis for this opinion is data compiled from the number of work certificates issued in 35 cities in 1921, 1922, and 1923.¹

A federal law is deemed necessary not only because it is felt that a large and perhaps increasing number of children are gainfully occupied, but because in many instances the existing state laws cannot be properly enforced as long as there is no federal law. New York and Pennsylvania are pointed to as states which experience difficulty on this account. Children go from New York to work in New Jersey and thus are not liable to control in either state. A great deal of home work is believed to be sent out of New York, where such work for children under fourteen is fairly successfully forbidden, to New Jersey. In this way manufacturers in certain states are able to manufacture certain articles by methods contrary to the intent of their state law.

Moreover, state child labor laws, it is pointed out, practically without exception do not regulate the agricultural labor of children. Nevertheless, it is commonly emphasized, a form of commercialized agriculture has developed in many states which is far from beneficial. The beet sugar industry, for example, requires a great deal of hand labor, much of which children can do. The work is difficult and in some instances dangerous; the hours are long and the harvest period comes after the beginning of school.

Children also work on truck farms and in berry picking, the custom being for a whole family to migrate in the summer or fall to work together. Some families move from place to place and state to state in search of this work and the children not only are liable to overwork but are kept out of school so much that they are bound to grow up illiterate. Children evade the Pennsylvania compulsory education laws by accompanying their families

¹Given on p. 30 of this report. See, however, p. 72.

to New Jersey and Delaware every spring to work on the truck farms. Many remain into the fall for work in the cranberry bogs.¹ The families which go out to harvest beet and berry crops also migrate, as a rule, and it is impossible to enforce any educational standards upon such groups. Control which would be national in scope, it is believed, would make it possible to remedy the evils of certain forms of agricultural work which the states are now nearly helpless to control, as well as evasions of state laws by manufacturing industries.

Further, it is argued that, unless there is some common minimum throughout all of the states, those in which high standards are established will suffer from the industrial competition of products manufactured in others with low standards. Moreover, young persons whose physical, mental, or moral development has been hampered by a childhood spent in low-standard states may go to other states later in life and thus create difficult social, economic and political problems.

The need of federal legislation is further urged on the ground that the present state laws are inadequate in their standards and improvement in them is slow. The situation in respect to state legislation is interpreted as follows:²

Only 13 states measure up in all respects to the conservative standards of the first and second Federal Child labor-laws.³ These states are Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Nine states have no law prohibiting all children under fourteen from working in both factories and stores. These states are Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Montana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Twenty-three states with at least a fourteen-year minimum age limit for working in factories and workshops have weakened their laws by permitting exemptions under which children not yet fourteen may work. These states are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New

¹Hearings, *op. cit.*, p. 24. The Secretary of the Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania states (*New York Times*, June 19, 1925) that between 2,500 and 3,000 school children are recruited annually in Philadelphia alone for work on cranberry bogs and truck farms of New Jersey.

²Hearings, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 282.

³See p. 68 of this report.

Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Thirty-five states allow children to go to work without a common school education. These states are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Nineteen states do not make physical fitness for work a condition of employment. These states are Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming.

Eleven states allow children under sixteen to work from nine to eleven hours a day. These are Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, (has eight-hour day for children under fourteen), Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Texas.

One state does not regulate in any way daily hours of labor of children. This is true only of Georgia at the present time.

Four states do not protect children under sixteen from night work. These states are Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, and Utah.

From this summary it appears, in the opinion of some, that the greatest weaknesses of existing state legislation taken as a whole, are, first, the educational requirements, and next the physical fitness standards. In addition, the summary is held to show that the eleven states permitting children to work more than eight hours a day are for the most part states where relatively large numbers of young people are employed, and all but three of them are states which, in addition to permitting a long working day, allow children to start working without a common school education.

In reviewing the present uneven state of state legislation, it is pointed out also that with the exception of two states, none of it applies to agricultural work and in no state does it apply to domestic occupations. In both of these groups large numbers of children are employed.

Finally, it is held by some that federal legislation would

be inexpensive and more effective than state regulation alone. A federal law is thought to be more effective than the state laws because under it it would be possible to ignore the demands of special interests in a given state which under state control can either secure the passage of laws embodying low standards or render enforcement inadequate. When each state legislates separately on child labor there is always room for the argument that "This law is higher in its standards than the law of such and such a state," and the truth of that statement is often sufficient ground for the defeat of the measure. In certain districts where there is no sympathy with child labor regulation it is difficult for state enforcement officials to secure convictions for violations of the child labor law, while the federal officials would not be under any such pressure.

In opposition to these contentions it is argued that in the course of development of economic and social life there are influences at work that have tended and will automatically tend to decrease the number of young persons who go to work at too early an age, or engage in harmful occupations; that the general standard of living of the population is steadily improving; and that the influence of the pressure of necessity and of parental ignorance or racial attitudes in respect to the employment of young children is diminishing: furthermore, the improvement of industrial processes tends to make the employment of young workers in general more uneconomic. Labor-saving devices are being increasingly used in agriculture and in manufacturing industries, and the introduction of expensive labor-saving machinery tends to put a premium upon the more mature and intelligent workers. It is asserted that only in special industries and occupations, under special conditions, is there still any pronounced tendency to employ young persons.

It is pointed out that, if those employed in agriculture are omitted, the number of very young children in gainful occupations in which there is a large possibility of harm, is now almost negligible. It is held, too, that, omitting the decrease in agricultural employment of children, the fall-

ing off in the numbers of children employed in non-agricultural work (for which the 1910 and 1920 census figures may be relied upon to show very nearly the real condition of affairs) indicates a large and a reasonable amount of decrease for the ten-year period.

In spite of the unevenness of present state legislation, it is believed, too, that there has been a great deal of progress in state regulation on this subject in recent years. The last ten or fifteen years have shown a steady advance which has been summarized as follows:¹

In the decade between 1910 and 1920, laws fixing the minimum age for going to work were strengthened, either by raising the age or by increasing the number of occupations to which the law applied, or in both ways, in at least one-half of the states; the number of states fixing a maximum working day of eight hours for children under sixteen in any considerable number of occupations, increased from seven to twenty-eight; and the number of those prohibiting night work for such children increased by sixteen during this period.

Further evidence that the states will in all probability of themselves move toward higher standards is to be found in the existence of a commission on uniform state legislation which is made up of appointees of the governors of the various states. Ever since 1909 this commission has had under consideration the need of a uniform child labor law and at present a committee is at work on a redraft of the uniform laws which they previously suggested.²

As against the view that federal legislation is more effective in meeting the child labor problem than is state action it is held that there are various ways in which state action is more advantageous. In the first place, it is believed a federal law would be ineffective and lead to general evasion because it would probably not be supported by public opinion in the states. Moreover, a general law cannot be adapted to the wide differences in

¹U. S. Senate, 68th Congress, 2nd session. Report submitted by Mr. Shortridge of the Committee on the Judiciary, April, 1924, p. 35.

²Hearings, *op. cit.* p. 269.

conditions existing in the various states. State laws can carry provisions applying to the conditions peculiar to a single state. In addition, there are various other subjects of regulation, now entirely in the control of the states, such as educational facilities and standards, mother's pension laws and other social legislation, which must accompany the regulation of the employment of children if such regulation is to accomplish its purpose.

THE DESIRABILITY OF A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Since the second federal law designed to regulate child labor was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, there has been only one road to federal control of child labor—an amendment to the Constitution. After the Court's decision on the second law an amendment was submitted to Congress, and it was passed on June 2, 1924. It has been ratified by four states, Arkansas, California, Arizona and Wisconsin, and rejected by both houses of the legislature in twenty states, and by one house in eight states. In the remaining states action has been postponed or is not yet taken, or the legislative situation is not clear from available information. All the legislatures of the states will be in session for the consideration of the amendment this year except those of Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana and Maryland, four of which meet in 1926, and two in 1927.

The proposed amendment is as follows:

"Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress."

This amendment is thus a general grant of powers to Congress, limited only by the age specified and the requirement that state standards shall not be affected except as they are below those which may be laid down by Congress.

The discussion of this proposal has involved partly the

question of the need and desirability of federal regulation and partly various questions of political theory and governmental policy which are general in character and not related directly to the relative effectiveness of federal and state legislation.

The two main issues of this character which have been raised in the discussion of this amendment are whether the powers granted Congress by the amendment infringe upon rights reserved to the states, and whether they infringe the personal rights of the individual guaranteed under our form of government. The divergent views on these theoretical questions may be briefly described as follows:

States' Rights

The most important issue raised by this amendment since it was passed by Congress and sent to the states for ratification, judging by the amount of discussion evoked, is the question of the expansion of the power of the national government. According to one writer, the opposition to this expanding power of the central government was the outstanding feature of political thought in the United States in 1924.¹ This is ascribed by some partly to dissatisfaction with the extension of federal expenditures and taxation, and partly to growing anti-prohibition sentiment; but proponents of the child labor amendment generally deprecate the danger or undesirability of such expansion of federal authority.

It is pointed out that the amendment includes as Section 2 the following provision: "The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress." This, it is held, was written with the specific idea of retaining to the states power to deal with the question of child labor and to avoid giving Congress exclusive power.²

¹Curtis Nettels, "The Plea for States Rights," *The New Republic*, January 14, 1925, p. 191.

²Hearings, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Moreover, it is argued, since the Constitution itself provides for necessary amendment by a method which allows the states to vote on the question, the proposed amendment will not become a part of the Constitution unless two-thirds or more of the states are willing to relinquish their authority to the extent required by the amendment. The legislators of the various states, it is believed, may be trusted to be jealous of their rights in this matter.

The general expansion of federal power, moreover, has taken place as a result of inevitable economic and social changes, and the greater accessibility of all states to each other. Economic lines of development have in no case respected the arbitrarily set up state boundaries. Standardization of commodities has decreased differences existing between one part of the country and another, or one state and another. "Thus the economics and psychology of our time threaten the vitality of popular loyalty to the states. What then, is the plea for states rights really worth? Many concerns of life may best be regulated by community action—and the state provides a convenient grouping of the communities for general supervision. Education, sanitation, justice—these and many other things are primarily local in character. The schools and law courts, for instance, are isolated, self-contained units. Each one of them in a given locality may and indeed is very likely to have some relation with similar units elsewhere, but its very life is not dependent upon that relation. But the economic threads of a community do not end at its borders; they are national in their extent."¹ Another writer suggests "that states' rights is an obsolete issue because our state governments are largely obsolete. These geographical areas we call states, bounded by arbitrarily or accidentally drawn lines on a map, do not represent any distinctive social or economic interests."²

In opposition to such views it is argued that there exists at the present time a movement for decentralization

¹*Ibid.*, p. 192.

²Glenn Frank, "Is States Rights a Dead Issue?" *The Century*, April, 1925, p. 541.

of government control, and the proposed Twentieth Amendment is only the most recent proposal which has raised the issue. The fact that up to the present time many more states have voted against than in favor of it, although Congress has twice passed laws regulating child labor and has so recently passed the amendment itself, argues that much of the opposition to the amendment grew up within the last year, and that it is the amending of the Constitution and the definite increase of Congressional power proposed under the amendment, rather than the regulation of child labor itself which is the real source of opposition at the present time.

Those who oppose the amendment on this basis hold that it so alters the form and principles of the Federal Government as to encroach upon the rights, authority and interests of the states and to menace sound and effective government in the United States. The amendment is considered to go farther than any modification so far made in the constitutional powers of Congress in opening to it avenues of activity which, if followed, would tend toward more complete centralization of the government and curtailment of the considerable degree of self-government now resident in the states.

Furthermore, it is held, administration of a national child labor law, such as might conceivably be passed under this amendment would require the development of an extensive centralized machinery of officials, inspectors and investigators, subject only to the authority of the central government and unfamiliar with or indifferent to the local interests and conditions. The effective administration of such a law by a central agency is thought by some to be impossible.

In addition, it is pointed out, there are many problems which are of national concern as much as is the problem of child labor. If it is decided that child labor is suitably a matter for Congressional control, it is considered entirely logical to suppose that the whole field of social welfare will be opened up to congressional control. Such centralization of government, moreover, is apt to weaken

the sense of responsibility for the government in the individual citizen. He will feel that he is so remote from the center of power that he cannot influence action one way or the other.

Finally, it is feared that such centralization of authority and extension of functions as are involved in this amendment would increase the expenditures of the central government and the tax burden upon the entire country, with consequent waste and injustice to various sections of the taxpaying population.

The amendment is believed to mean, in short, that all the forty-eight states, through the Federal Government, will be permitted to exercise the police power and the taxing power in every other state for purposes of concern exclusively to that state and locality. It is held that this constitutes a fundamental and undesirable change in the system of government in this country.

Personal Rights

The second question of theory involved in the discussion of the proposed amendment is whether the powers granted by the amendment infringe upon the personal rights of the individual guaranteed under our form of government.

Those who do not feel that the powers granted under the amendment are excessive hold that the grant of the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age gives the Federal Government no more power than is at present enjoyed by each of the state governments, although exercised in its entirety by none of them.

At the present time, it is asserted, the home is as liable to invasion as it would be under the proposed amendment. In practice the rights of parents are now considerably limited by law in each state. School laws, hours of work laws and minimum wage laws define or replace parental obligations, and no parents are legally free to starve or practice other cruelty upon their children. The Federal Government would limit parental control only for the same purpose. The establishment of the unreserved

rights of parents, it is argued, would take civilization back to ancient times when parents had complete and exclusive control over their children.

The proposed amendment is purposely broad in its scope because the question of child labor is one which is to be judged by changing standards and because the standards of today will undoubtedly be superseded by others within the next few decades. To lay down rigid limits by amendment would mean either that another amendment would soon be needed or that national child labor laws would be hardened into an out-dated mold.

Hesitation to turn over to Congress the degree of control allowed in the proposed amendment is held to argue a fundamental distrust of the present form of government in the United States and to imply a feeling that there is need for a general limitation of congressional powers, since at present Congress controls matters which affect the general welfare quite as much as would any law resulting from the proposed amendment.

In contradiction of this view it is argued by others that the amendment will inevitably obligate Congress to assume powers which abrogate existing constitutional guarantees and encroach upon the personal liberty and rights of the individual.

This amendment, it is held, constitutes an entirely new departure in the kind of authority granted to Congress in that by it Congress would for the first time be given power to regulate the employment and labor of persons in the United States. Restriction of the exercise of this power to a class of persons defined by age is itself a denial of equality before the law to that and other classes, and constitutes class and even individual legislation, for the effect of such legislation cannot be the same for all persons within that class.

Moreover, it is felt, the granting of such power over such a group opens the way for exercise of similar power over all other groups. The limit of eighteen years was admittedly arbitrary. The advocates of national child labor legislation have stated that a limit of twenty-one years was the

goal ultimately to be desired. The eighteen-year limit, however, is no more and no less reasonable, it is contended, than twenty-one, or twenty-one than twenty-five or thirty. The person of seventeen is no less to be protected in his right to work than the person of thirty. He is liable for military service for his country, and in thousands of cases is head of a family. He should no more be denied the guarantees of the Fifth Amendment than any other individual of any age.

For all persons to whom it applies, however, the proposed amendment is believed to supersede or modify the guarantees of the bill of rights providing that no person shall be deprived of his property or liberty without due process of law. The Eighteenth Amendment did this for property rights in the manufacture and distribution of intoxicating liquor. The proposed amendment, it is believed, may do the same for the property rights in their labor of persons under eighteen. If this is done for persons of an arbitrary fixed age, it is feared that there is nothing to prevent Congress from extending such power over persons of any age.

Furthermore, the power to regulate, limit or prohibit the labor of any group of persons not only abrogates the property right of such persons in their labor, but it may deprive them of liberty without due process of law. "Labor" is not only work for pay, but any kind of activity that may be construed as work. The power granted by this amendment therefore is feared to imply the power to control not only the employment, but the leisure activities of the group of persons to whom it applies.

It is held to be untrue that these powers which are to be granted Congress are no more than those now exercised by the states. The police power is now exercised by the states under the limitation of the bill of rights of the Federal Constitution. The proposed amendment, by abrogating the Fifth Amendment, gives Congress practically unlimited power over the property and liberty of persons under eighteen years of age.

The assurances of the advocates of the amendment that

Congress is not likely to exercise these broad powers which the amendment grants are felt to be an inadequate substitute for the constitutional guarantees upon which the government of the United States has so far been based.

Finally, the power to regulate, limit or prohibit the employment or leisure activities of persons of any age, thereby possibly depriving them of their property rights and liberty, carries with it the responsibility and obligation of compensation. The amendment therefore imposes upon Congress or may eventually impose, the responsibility of fixing wages and working conditions, providing education, means of recreation and support for all those persons whom it partly or wholly excludes from employment or other activities.

For these reasons the proposed amendment is held to be unnecessary and inadequate as a method of meeting the problem of the young working people of the country, and potentially destructive of fundamental features of its government.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

An objective consideration of the problem presented by the employment of young persons in the United States today indicates that it is essentially a problem of protecting and fostering the interests, first, of the young people who work; second, of their families, to which they contribute their effort; third, of the society and community in which they live; and fourth, of the economic life of the nation, of which they are a part. Some measure of governmental regulation of employment of young persons is necessary to protect these interests, but no form of regulation of such employment can be considered satisfactory which is not directed to and does not achieve these ends, and at the same time accord with the basic principles of sound government.

Participation in the economic life of their environment before adult age is desirable and necessary for complete education and maturity of development of the young people of the nation, as well as for the promotion of good citizenship and of the social and economic welfare. Every effort is desirable both to preserve the inherent rights of the individual and the community in such participation, and to protect the young person from any undue pressure or harmful conditions which might destroy or lessen its value to him or to the community.

Study of the special factors which affect the employment of young persons, the extent and nature of such employment and its effects shows that these depend upon the circumstances and characteristics of the individual, and differ widely as among individual children, localities and occupations. Moreover, comprehensive, carefully analyzed and comparable data regarding the special causes, extent, character and effects of employment of young persons are not available. For these reasons few, if any, valid

generalizations are possible in regard to any aspect of the child labor problem at the present time. The inadequacy of information upon which sound policies might be based is an outstanding and serious feature of the situation in respect to this problem today.

Young persons go to work to support themselves, where there are no other provisions for dependency; or to contribute to the family labor or income; or because the school facilities and methods are inadequate or unsuited to them; or to learn a trade; or because of the family, racial or local custom. The majority of young persons go to work because of the two factors of necessity and lack of interest in school. Because of them it is probable that in many cases children enter employment at too early an age or under unfavorable conditions. Need of the child's earnings, or of his services, which is the major contributing cause of his going to work, still exists in a great many cases where the chief breadwinner's earnings are low or irregular or incommensurate with the size of his family. Some social measures have been taken, of recent years, which would tend to lessen the pressure of necessity in certain cases caused by death or incapacitation of the father of the family, but these could not be adequate to meet the situation which might arise if employment of young persons were generally restricted arbitrarily. Most of the existing regulations of employment recognize this by suitable exemptions.

Any decrease in the "lack of interest in school" factor, which sends young people into early employment, will have to come very largely through changes in the school system itself. Changes in the character of schools, courses and teaching methods, as well as larger and more attractive school facilities are of major importance in any solution of the problems which exist in relation to the employment of young persons.

Despite these factors, according to the available comprehensive information the number of young persons under sixteen in employment is a small part of the workers of the country, and tends gradually to decrease. In larger

part such employment is in connection with the work of the family on farms, and only to a smaller extent in industries where there is possibility of harmful effects. Of the working children under fourteen, 87% were engaged in agriculture, and of those under sixteen 61% were so engaged. Of the latter, 88% were working on the home farm. Of the children under sixteen 21.5% were employed in trade, clerical work and domestic and personal service, and 17.5% in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

The total number of persons under fourteen employed in manufacturing industries in 1920 was 9,473, and had decreased 71% since 1910. Among manufacturing and mechanical industries, those in which children under sixteen are employed in the largest numbers and in which they also constitute a considerable proportion of the total wage earners employed are the textile, shoe, food, clothing, and lumber and furniture industries.

Among the states, the largest numbers of children under sixteen are employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York.

In the ten years from 1910 to 1920, in non-agricultural occupations, the proportion of working children under sixteen years to the total number of children in the same age group, decreased from 5.2% to 3.3%, a decrease of 25.9% in the total number of children in non-agricultural pursuits. The numbers under fourteen years in those occupations decreased from 95,841 to 49,105, almost 50%.

In the manufacturing and mechanical industries, a decrease of 50% or more in the number of children under sixteen employed in 1920 as compared to 1910, occurred in eleven states. Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, North Carolina, and South Carolina had the largest numerical decreases. Increases occurred in six states, Massachusetts having the largest numerical increase. There is no conclusive evidence that the extent of employment of young persons has increased since 1920. Rather the indication of such material as is available from state reports is that it has tended to decrease.

As regards the character of the work done by children, the available information, which is slight, indicates that the occupations open to young people entering employment before reaching sixteen years of age frequently offer little chance for advancement and in only a small proportion of cases permit of learning a trade or of becoming a skilled worker. There would appear to be need for closer consideration of the possibilities of making the work of young persons more progressive, through the development of apprenticeship systems or similar methods.

In estimating the effects of the employment of young persons, the most important consideration is the effect on the child himself. But so many factors influence the degree and kind of effect any given occupation may have in relation to a given child, and the heredity, home life and occupations of young persons differ so widely, that it is extremely difficult to make any generalizations about the effects of employment on young children.

There is especially no body of authoritative information relating to the specific effects of regular employment on the health of children; but scattered studies of the physical characteristics of children under eighteen years of age have led to certain generalizations concerning the possible harmful effects of long hours, the need of the growing child for protection from undue physical or nervous strain, the danger of overuse and development of a few muscles in monotonous occupations, and other similar general conclusions. It is clear from these studies that too early entrance into employment or subjection to too severe conditions may have especially harmful effects upon the physical health and development of young workers. It is difficult, however, to separate the effects of employment itself from other non-occupational factors which influence the health of children.

The same is true regarding the relationship between the employment and the education of young persons. Productive work is as necessary a part of education as formal schooling. As the majority of children under sixteen who leave school go to work, it is obvious that the employment

of children and their education are two sides of the same problem. When lack of interest in school leads young people to enter employment before completing their schooling this cannot be said to be due to employment itself. Rather is retardation, due to maladjustment between the child and the school, a large factor in early entrance into employment. On the other hand, there has been found to exist a great deal of retardation in school due to children's employment, particularly in the rural districts. Seasonal and irregular employment of children as well as part-time or vacation occupations have been found to have a direct effect in retarding children in school and therefore an indirect effect in eliminating them prematurely from regular schooling. It would seem that there is need for better adjustment between the educational system, the child and his work.

An attempt has been made to relate the effect of employment on the character development of children by studying the relative amounts of delinquency among employed and unemployed children of the same ages and localities. Such studies show that delinquencies are more frequently found among working children than among those not working. Certain occupations especially account for a larger proportion of juvenile delinquents than others.

The census figures show that, if the number of children at work is a measure of their contribution to productive activity, the work of young people is far more important to agriculture than to any other part of our economic life. The value of their contribution to industry is limited by many factors. They have been found to be less steady than older workers, changing often from one job to another. Usually they are entirely untrained when entering industry and remain so because as a rule they enter jobs calling for little or no skill, and because so little provision for their systematic training exists. Another factor limiting their value to industry is their relatively greater susceptibility to accidents. Considering all of these things, it is a question whether their instability, lower efficiency

and greater accident liability are offset by the lower wages paid them. In some few industries operating under special conditions the employment of young workers does undoubtedly afford a temporary or local economic advantage; but the general trend of development of American industry has been away from the employment of immature unskilled workers. This fact probably accounts in large part for the decline in the employment of very young persons in manufacturing industries from 1910 to 1920.

The problem of regulating the employment of children by setting up age and other limitations has been met by the states in various ways, more or less in accordance with the conditions which present themselves in their jurisdictions.

Every state has laws which to some degree limit and regulate the work and protect the education of children. The standards fixed naturally differ with the economic character of the states. The absence of a certain standard in a given state does not argue the inadequacy of the law, nor does a high standard imply adequate protection. Each state presents a more or less distinctive problem.

Every state except Utah and Wyoming, which are not markedly industrial, prohibits the employment of children under fourteen in factories, with exemptions chiefly for work outside of school hours or in case of poverty.

Five states prohibit the employment of persons under fifteen and two states that of persons under sixteen in either factories or stores, or both, with exemptions only in cases of poverty or in accordance with school requirements.

Thirty-two states, including all those in which mining is an important industry, specifically prohibit the employment of children under sixteen in mines.

Every state prohibits the employment of persons under sixteen in dangerous or injurious occupations, and in twenty-two states persons sixteen and over are prohibited from all or certain of such occupations.

Thirty-five states and the District of Columbia limit the industrial work of children to eight hours per day,

although canneries are exempted in five states. One additional state prohibits the employment of children under sixteen in factories and limits the employment of females to eight hours per day.

Every state now has compulsory school attendance laws. Thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia require an educational minimum before a child may begin work, but only twelve of these require the equivalent of a common school education or more.

In twenty-two states a physician must pass on the child's physical fitness for work.

Nearly all of the state laws carry a great variety of provisions for the exemption of young persons from their operation under certain circumstances. The degree to which they weaken the law depends upon the way in which they are applied and upon the conditions which have to be met in the various states.

Federal regulation of child labor, in addition to state legislation, has been attempted at two periods, covering four of the five years from 1917 to 1922. The first law attempted indirectly to control child labor through the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the second provided for control through taxation. Both laws fixed a fourteen-year age minimum for work in factories, a sixteen-year minimum in mines, and an eight-hour day for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age. Both laws were declared unconstitutional on the ground that Congress sought through them to exercise its powers of regulation of commerce and taxation for an ulterior purpose, the authority for which had been reserved to the states. These decisions made it evident that Congress could secure the power to regulate child labor only through an amendment to the Constitution. Such a constitutional amendment to secure federal legislation has been sought because it was felt that the previous federal legislation had been beneficial and because further legislation of this kind was deemed to be necessary and desirable to secure better protection of young persons. The amendment has been opposed on the opposite grounds and, in addition,

because it was considered to be contrary to the principles of sound governmental policy.

The discussion of the question of federal regulation of the employment of young persons is therefore in large part necessarily theoretical, involving differing interpretations of past experience and present conditions, as well as divergent attitudes toward governmental policy. The evaluation of experience under the federal laws as a guide to judgment on federal legislation is particularly inconclusive and rests largely on personal opinion. These laws, which were in effect for only a comparatively short period, are held to have stimulated state legislation pertaining to children's employment, and in the opinion of officials of many states, aided materially in the enforcement of state laws on the same subject. In addition, the federal laws are considered to have brought up to their standards those states in which the legislation requirements were lower, or in which the enforcement of the state law was inadequate. For this latter group of states, the federal laws are credited with the material reduction in the number of children employed under sixteen years of age. It was not found necessary, in administering the federal laws, to duplicate state machinery, and the costs of administration, so far as it went, were not large.

The principal reasons why further federal regulation is thought by some to be necessary are these: Although in the last decade there has been a large decrease in the number of children under sixteen employed, and an even larger decrease in the number under fourteen employed, there remained in 1920 a very considerable number, and it is felt that this number is larger than the census figures indicate. It is the opinion of the Children's Bureau, moreover, that the number has increased since 1920. There are various instances in which state laws cannot be enforced as long as there is no federal law. Special interests in states are sometimes strong enough to hamper prosecutions and enforcement under state laws. State child labor laws, practically without exception, do not regulate the agricultural labor of children, and a form of commercial-

ized agriculture has developed in many states which is serious in its effects on the children involved.

It is held also that, without the establishment of a federal minimum, those states in which high standards are established will suffer from the industrial competition of products manufactured in states with low standards. Moreover, young persons whose physical, mental, or moral development has been hampered by a childhood spent in low-standard states may go to other states later in life and thus create for them difficult social, economic and political problems.

While great progress has been made with regard to the regulation of child labor by the states, the number and kind of regulations differ widely from state to state, and it is considered that this inconsistency diminishes the protection afforded children. It is pointed out that only eighteen states substantially measure up to the conservative standards of the two federal laws; that twenty-three states with at least a fourteen-year minimum age limit for working in factories have weakened their laws by permitting exemptions under which children not yet fourteen may work; that thirty-five states allow children to go to work without a common school education; that nineteen states do not make physical fitness for work a condition of employment; and that eleven states allow children under sixteen to work from nine to eleven hours per day.

On the other hand, it is argued against the necessity of federal regulation of child labor that the last decade showed a large and satisfactory decrease in the number of young persons employed, and that there is no reason why the present decade may not show a reasonable decrease as well; that the constantly improving standard of living, the diminishing of the pressure of necessity, of parental ignorance, and of racial attitude, and the industrial trend favoring labor saving devices and more efficient labor forces, all will tend to reduce the number of young persons employed, without the aid of federal legislation. It is also held that the states are making steady progress in solving the problems connected with young

people's employment and may be expected to continue to do so. It is not believed that the previous federal legislation had any material influence in decreasing the employment of children, nor that the absence of federal regulation since 1922 has tended to increase such employment.

The discussion of the desirability of the proposed Twentieth Amendment involves various questions of political theory and governmental policy which are quite apart from the question of the need of federal regulation of child labor or the relative effectiveness of federal and state legislation. The more important of these questions are: Whether federal power to regulate child labor by such amendment constitutes an encroachment on the rights of the state, and, if so, whether this is a dangerous tendency; whether it would lead to an overextension of the functions of central government, with attendant concentration of authority and increase of expense; whether, also, it would not open the way to further social legislation by the federal government and involve the latter in a progressively extended program of regulation of education, wages, hours, and conditions of work, recreation, etc.; and, finally, whether such an amendment does not abrogate existing constitutional guarantees of property rights and personal liberty of the individual. These are matters of individual opinion and interpretation upon which agreement is difficult and in which objective determination is nearly impossible.

Reviewing the whole problem of the work of young persons as it presents itself in the United States today, it should be emphasized that premature employment or employment under conditions detrimental to welfare is not a problem to be solved by legislation alone, whether state or federal. It is essentially a problem of coordinating the work aspect of education and child development with the formal school aspect, the recreational aspect and the domestic aspect. This is partly a problem of supplying more and better educational facilities, particularly in rural districts, as well as different types and varieties of training

than are usual in the schools today; partly a problem of better adjustment between the schools and our economic life, and, in addition, it is a problem of stabilizing and improving adult earnings and family living standards.

It seems clear that there is considerable need for improvement in these respects in various states and localities; but neither the factors influencing the employment of children, nor its extent, character and effects, appear today to be so general and serious as to invite chief reliance upon legislative measures.

So far as legislation is concerned, it is a question whether it is desirable, in a situation of this kind, to make fundamental alterations in the Constitution and extensions in the power of the Federal Government in the hope of securing the desirable adjustments quickly, or to rely upon the operation of economic forces and the development of public opinion to raise standards where they are defective, and to make provision where it is inadequate, in accord with local conditions and necessities.

The outstanding requirement today, in view of the fact that the question of child labor regulation is still open and under public consideration, is the securing of more comprehensive, detailed and up-to-date information concerning the factors, extent, character and effects of the employment of young persons under existing conditions and regulations. Only thus can a sound basis for legislative policy, state or national, be provided. The existing data are either too old, too general or too fragmentary to justify conclusions of wide current application. Preparations may well be made to include in the next census of population specific inquiry into the character of childrens' occupations, the amount of time spent in them, the factors influencing their pursuit, and the extent to which they interfere with school attendance. In the meantime the several states might advantageously provide fuller records of the circumstances, character and conditions of employment of children working under certificate, and of their health and educational progress. There is need, too, for more extended surveys and intensive studies of the health

of working children, and of the causes of school retardation and juvenile delinquency. In these ways a firmer basis may be provided for measuring the magnitude of the child labor problem and for judging the most effective means of remedy. Finally, it may be suggested that there are wide and as yet untried possibilities of voluntary cooperation among employers and between employers and the government in the direction of surveying conditions, raising standards, developing machinery for the private remedy of exceptional abuses, and especially in improving the relationship between education and industry which is so important a part of the problem of juvenile employment.

APPENDIX

EXTENT, CHARACTER AND REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS, BY SEPARATE STATES

(Sources: The data regarding numbers employed, by occupations and age groups, are taken from the Census of 1920; the digests of state regulations are based on publications of the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, entitled "State Child Labor Standards, September 15, 1924," "State Compulsory School Attendance Standards Affecting the Employment of Minors, September 15, 1924," and "Legal Regulation of the Employment of Minors 16 Years of Age and Over.")

ALABAMA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,730,421	241,917	57,495	50,125	53,659	47,829
All gainfully occupied..	908,216	47,596	18,409	18,392	24,877	24,814
Agriculture.....	504,645	45,729	16,551	15,115	17,564	15,620
Mining.....	35,639	39	77	183	562	956
Manufacturing.....	150,711	448	660	1,314	3,408	4,239
Transportation.....	42,085	93	142	232	629	839
Trade.....	50,089	311	241	431	713	828
Public service.....	6,775	16	8	12	36	56
Professional service....	25,398	13	9	18	82	218
Domestic and personal service.....	70,812	728	547	814	1,367	1,387
Clerical occupations....	22,062	219	174	273	516	671

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions for work outside school hours; any gainful occupation at any time, or in any employment or service during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines, quarries, or coke breakers.

21 years; pool and billiard rooms.

Educational minimum

Completion of 5th grade (6th grade September 1, 1926).

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 18 years; telephone, telegraph or messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

ARIZONA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	255,461	26,547	6,126	5,605	5,677	5,092
All gainfully occupied..	130,579	1,268	617	826	1,479	1,853
Agriculture.....	36,199	1,115	422	444	637	698
Mining.....	15,437	2	5	6	31	61
Manufacturing.....	24,055	43	53	109	221	352
Transportation.....	11,589	10	23	60	160	193
Trade.....	11,314	48	48	80	146	190
Public service.....	8,353	.....	2	3	23	32
Professional service.....	7,205	1	5	6	12	16
Domestic and personal service.....	10,175	33	40	77	169	179
Clerical occupations....	6,252	16	19	41	80	132

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions for work outside of school hours; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or any business or service during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; in or about a mine, quarry or coal breakers.

Boys, 18 years; underground in mines.

18 years; specified dangerous or injurious occupations.

Boys, 10 to 14 years outside school hours in work not physically or morally harmful, on license.

Educational minimum

Completion of 5th grade in certain specified subjects.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Girls, 16 to 18 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; girls, 16 to 18 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service in incorporated cities and towns; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

ARKANSAS

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,302,905	178,221	43,250	38,122	39,780	35,798
All gainfully occupied..	634,564	26,339	10,707	11,094	14,572	15,360
Agriculture.....	408,651	25,790	10,073	9,823	11,847	11,301
Mining.....	5,556	5	7	14	88	127
Manufacturing.....	76,334	151	211	495	1,085	1,563
Transportation.....	28,725	46	69	143	358	541
Trade.....	38,463	92	88	184	356	508
Public service.....	8,073	3	3	7	24	42
Professional service....	20,418	8	4	23	78	218
Domestic and personal service.....	34,723	187	180	280	483	668
Clerical occupations....	13,621	57	72	125	253	392

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions for work outside of school hours; any remunerative occupation.

Boys, 16 years; in mines, quarries or coal breakers.

Educational minimum

Completion of 4th grade.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

16 to 18 years; any occupation; 10 hours per day, 54 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

16 to 18 years; any occupation; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

CALIFORNIA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,870,855	210,974	48,302	45,044	47,416	47,104
All gainfully occupied..	1,512,760	2,170	1,891	4,996	13,410	20,704
Agriculture.....	272,947	494	402	936	2,185	3,010
Mining.....	24,698	4	4	10	54	137
Manufacturing.....	430,631	146	288	1,291	4,268	6,290
Transportation.....	124,848	53	86	286	965	1,685
Trade.....	209,399	959	500	851	1,895	2,561
Public service.....	45,579	1	5	33	119	1,270
Professional service....	116,412	48	42	97	241	470
Domestic and personal service.....	154,841	182	224	488	1,229	1,575
Clerical occupations....	133,405	283	340	1,004	2,454	3,705

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

15 years, with exemption permitting 14 year children having completed elementary school course to work (if services are needed for family support), and certain exemptions for work outside school hours; factories, stores, etc., and "any other place of labor."

Girls, 18 years; messenger employment in towns over 15,000.

Boys, 16 years, in or about mines, quarries or coal breakers.

Educational minimum

Completion of 7th grade.

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required under certain conditions.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, stores, etc., or "other places of labor" (includes canning and packing fruits, fish and vegetables); 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Under 18 years; any occupation (with certain exemptions); 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Boys, 16-18 years; messengers for telegraph, telephone or messenger companies in towns of more than 15,000 inhabitants; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M. Under 18 years; factories and canneries; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 18 years; other occupations; factories, stores, etc., or "other places of labor;" prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

COLORADO

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	747,485	72,208	17,006	15,576	16,565	15,392
All gainfully occupied..	366,457	1,163	1,163	2,232	4,490	5,977
Agriculture.....	100,153	729	480	746	1,332	1,650
Mining.....	23,382	2	8	41	258	345
Manufacturing.....	73,924	35	131	423	912	1,241
Transportation.....	32,210	22	48	136	343	566
Trade.....	45,730	205	163	281	536	638
Public service.....	6,984	2	1	4	17	50
Professional service....	24,963	8	8	28	50	132
Domestic and personal service.....	33,018	76	123	246	516	610
Clerical occupations....	26,093	84	201	327	526	745

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions for work outside of school hours any "gainable" occupation in factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any work for compensation during any part of any month when school is in session.

Boys, 16 years; in any underground works or mine, or in or about any surface workings thereof except in the office in a clerical capacity.

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required (evening school attendance accepted as substitute).

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, with exemptions under special permit.

Night work

Under 14 years; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation, with exemptions under special permit; prohibited after 8 P.M.

CONNECTICUT

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,087,797	99,209	22,782	21,276	22,088	21,168
All gainfully occupied..	589,905	648	3,439	7,472	12,638	14,517
Agriculture.....	37,681	54	165	336	536	524
Mining.....	442	.....	.....	.....	5	4
Manufacturing.....	318,206	210	2,191	4,603	8,001	8,625
Transportation.....	33,119	12	47	130	320	487
Trade.....	56,030	205	359	809	1,073	1,050
Public service.....	9,845	2	....	15	26	152
Professional service....	30,841	3	14	35	70	140
Domestic and personal service.....	42,423	84	203	410	517	532
Clerical occupations....	61,318	78	460	1,134	2,090	3,003

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any occupation during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; in mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade in specified subjects, state board of education may release child from this requirement or it may be raised.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, etc.; 8 hours per day, 6 days per week; stores, 58 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, etc.; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M., and in stores after 6 P.M. Girls, under 21 years; factories, stores, etc.; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 18 years, in cities of 20,000 and over; messenger service prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

DELAWARE

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	178,930	16,377	3,837	3,595	3,862	3,720
All gainfully occupied..	91,224	239	355	812	1,636	1,964
Agriculture.....	17,694	130	101	162	298	331
Mining.....	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Manufacturing.....	34,649	11	103	291	670	806
Transportation.....	7,945	6	9	43	88	129
Trade.....	8,080	28	30	67	164	134
Public service.....	1,530	.....	.....	.....	4	10
Professional service.....	4,235	.....	3	5	5	21
Domestic and personal service.....	8,696	44	39	85	118	180
Clerical occupations....	8,325	20	70	159	289	352

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions for work during school hours; any establishment or occupation.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines, quarries or coal breakers.

18 years; in certain dangerous or injurious occupations.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade, with exemptions. (In Wilmington this requirement is fixed by ruling of local board of education; elsewhere by implication from compulsory school attendance law).

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any establishment or occupation except fruit and vegetable canneries; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week

Night work

Under 16 years; any establishment or occupation except fruit or vegetable canneries, prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service in places over 20,000 population; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	377,295	23,774	6,042	5,414	6,237	6,198
All gainfully occupied..	236,027	259	478	1,134	2,630	3,536
Agriculture.....	947	.....	2	3	12	7
Mining.....	79	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Manufacturing.....	44,505	13	50	135	404	570
Transportation.....	16,745	8	31	88	227	359
Trade.....	22,782	135	99	182	358	440
Public service.....	16,070	1	3	14	47	88
Professional service....	19,289	1	2	11	37	54
Domestic and personal service.....	42,579	59	111	243	578	734
Clerical occupations....	73,031	42	180	458	967	1,283

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, exemption for children of 12 on permit for poverty; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any work for compensation during school hours.

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing certificates is required to certify to children's physical condition.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, stores, etc.; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

All females; 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, stores, etc., prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Girls, under 18 years; factories, stores, etc., prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

FLORIDA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	751,787	86,095	20,216	17,541	19,356	18,039
All gainfully occupied..	385,312	4,477	2,802	3,585	6,522	8,128
Agriculture.....	123,939	3,515	1,751	1,854	2,709	2,878
Mining.....	2,999	4	8	24	50	70
Manufacturing.....	100,727	293	358	654	1,692	2,222
Transportation.....	29,398	52	72	138	387	609
Trade.....	35,528	191	177	269	510	680
Public service.....	7,814	5	8	10	27	151
Professional service.....	17,483	8	15	28	51	137
Domestic and personal service.....	52,154	228	234	385	677	909
Clerical occupations....	15,270	181	179	223	419	472

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

12 years; stores, etc.

14 years; factories, etc.

Under 21 years; pool rooms, billiard rooms, etc.

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing certificates must certify to children's physical condition and is empowered to require examination by physician.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, 9 hours per day, 54 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 5 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

GEORGIA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,150,230	293,294	72,018	61,923	64,943	58,817
All gainfully occupied..	1,129,157	44,997	21,419	22,518	29,094	29,989
Agriculture.....	613,357	42,248	17,918	16,939	19,483	18,674
Mining.....	2,466	9	16	28	44	55
Manufacturing.....	181,633	560	1,350	2,474	4,611	5,053
Transportation.....	54,751	147	232	385	809	1,049
Trade.....	76,532	497	432	605	954	1,224
Public service.....	19,582	11	20	50	83	126
Professional service....	35,937	19	35	46	151	433
Domestic and personal service.....	106,896	841	814	1,200	1,875	2,050
Clerical occupations....	38,003	665	602	791	1,084	1,325

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemption for children of 12 because of poverty; factories.

Educational minimum

Attendance for 12 weeks during preceding year.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

All employees; cotton and woolen factories; 60 hours per week.

Night work

Under 14½ years; factories; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

IDAHO

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	326,051	37,895	8,702	8,044	8,027	7,613
All gainfully occupied..	153,459	497	374	737	1,559	2,341
Agriculture.....	72,860	377	263	452	828	1,144
Mining.....	5,132	.....	1	3	11	36
Manufacturing.....	24,565	14	22	70	225	374
Transportation.....	11,208	3	10	53	131	190
Trade.....	13,832	57	33	43	110	188
Public service.....	1,649	.....	.....	.....	5	10
Professional service....	8,882	5	7	8	17	46
Domestic and personal service.....	9,200	19	28	76	154	232
Clerical occupations....	6,131	22	10	32	78	121

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions for work during school vacations; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any business or service during school hours (includes mines).

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required (requirement specified but no mention made of certificate).

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 9 hours per day, 54 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M.

ILLINOIS

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	5,184,943	481,731	113,599	103,980	113,296	106,936
All gainfully occupied..	2,627,738	3,634	9,533	23,766	50,104	59,840
Agriculture.....	380,705	1,300	1,528	2,973	5,948	7,351
Mining.....	90,644	41	37	173	1,545	1,960
Manufacturing.....	876,000	609	3,107	7,998	18,184	20,227
Transportation.....	220,361	63	252	692	2,351	3,489
Trade.....	347,804	949	1,141	2,778	5,416	6,308
Public service.....	51,227	6	7	51	147	875
Professional service....	146,641	34	42	132	329	623
Domestic and personal service.....	215,211	279	690	1,618	2,877	3,313
Clerical occupations....	299,145	353	2,729	7,351	13,307	15,694

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with certain exemptions during summer vacation; at any gainful occupation in or in connection with factories, canneries, stores, etc., at any time, or in any work for compensation during school term.

Boys, 16 years; in mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade in specified subjects.

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required 8 hours per week.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 14 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

INDIANA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,356,214	220,558	53,842	49,579	52,732	51,080
All gainfully occupied..	1,117,032	2,947	4,409	9,555	19,658	24,221
Agriculture.....	294,006	1,145	1,354	2,345	4,369	5,458
Mining.....	33,322	16	28	182	755	855
Manufacturing.....	377,446	213	1,255	3,276	7,974	9,579
Transportation.....	83,968	36	160	435	1,030	1,399
Trade.....	114,535	1,067	683	1,295	1,888	2,095
Public service.....	14,340	3	5	17	46	82
Professional service.....	56,833	22	31	62	134	348
Domestic and personal service.....	73,299	256	436	946	1,506	1,758
Clerical occupations....	69,283	189	457	997	1,956	2,647

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; in any gainful occupation, at any time, or in any occupation or service whatsoever during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; in mines, quarries or excavations.

18 years; in dangerous occupations.

21 years; pool or billiard rooms.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade.

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required under certain conditions.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory. (Is also mandatory for children up to 18 under certain conditions).

Maximum hours

Under 16 years, girls, 16 to 18 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week, except girls, 16 to 18 years in domestic service.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 18 years, messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

IOWA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,913,155	183,143	44,658	42,416	44,771	42,947
All gainfully occupied..	858,698	1,967	2,242	4,912	11,292	15,183
Agriculture.....	327,124	896	1,084	2,204	4,426	5,858
Mining.....	14,196	5	9	42	235	255
Manufacturing.....	176,522	96	219	784	2,517	3,243
Transportation.....	67,315	23	73	273	774	1,233
Trade.....	101,886	623	339	576	1,140	1,367
Public service.....	9,533	1	.....	6	17	37
Professional service....	55,991	22	29	51	94	289
Domestic and personal service.....	59,505	182	303	567	1,139	1,443
Clerical occupations....	46,626	119	186	409	950	1,458

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; with exemptions for children working for parents; factories, packing houses, mines, stores, etc. (but no provision for stores where less than 9 persons are employed).

Boys, 16 years, during school term; in or about mines.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade in specified subjects.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, packing houses, stores, etc. (but no provision for stores where less than 9 persons are employed); 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, packing houses, stores, etc. (but no provision for stores where less than 9 persons are employed); prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger or delivery service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

KANSAS

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,396,725	144,575	34,736	32,395	33,843	32,218
All gainfully occupied..	624,391	1,908	1,733	3,629	8,067	10,787
Agriculture.....	233,112	1,188	933	1,634	2,946	3,917
Mining.....	20,312	5	17	80	339	418
Manufacturing.....	121,544	79	134	508	1,543	2,041
Transportation.....	57,233	33	59	245	803	1,072
Trade.....	67,354	385	251	463	866	1,027
Public service.....	12,242	1	1	6	22	44
Professional service....	38,688	8	16	23	72	288
Domestic and personal service.....	41,037	106	195	366	777	942
Clerical occupations....	32,869	103	127	304	699	1,038

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, packing houses, canneries, etc., at any time, or in any business or service during school hours, stores implied.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

Completion of elementary school course.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, packing houses, stores, etc.; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

16 to 18 years; factories, with exemptions; 9 hours per day, 49½ hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, packing houses, stores, etc.; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

16 to 18 years; factories, with exemptions; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M.

KENTUCKY

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,837,434	217,659	53,578	47,171	49,657	46,755
All gainfully occupied..	851,122	9,824	7,034	9,896	16,326	19,476
Agriculture.....	393,749	8,932	5,499	6,605	8,527	9,377
Mining.....	51,471	48	116	329	1,179	1,505
Manufacturing.....	147,034	133	424	1,100	2,892	3,627
Transportation.....	49,806	32	114	244	629	979
Trade.....	64,848	160	252	493	997	1,216
Public service.....	16,620	7	3	19	45	96
Professional service....	31,929	16	18	46	97	122
Domestic and personal service.....	60,761	385	362	589	921	1,165
Clerical occupations....	34,904	111	246	471	1,039	1,389

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories (law not clear as to inclusion of canneries), stores, etc., at any time or in any business during school terms.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

Completion of 5th grade in specified subjects.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories (law not clear as to inclusion of canneries) stores, etc.; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories (law not clear as to inclusion of canneries), stores, etc.; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service in cities of 1st, 2nd, or 3rd class; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M.

LOUISIANA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,366,066	176,187	43,040	38,825	39,643	36,628
All gainfully occupied..	681,233	13,086	8,460	10,728	15,043	17,207
Agriculture.....	290,936	11,489	5,893	6,336	7,977	8,322
Mining.....	7,669	17	11	24	48	106
Manufacturing.....	139,144	236	740	1,526	2,798	3,385
Transportation.....	50,924	77	132	305	581	989
Trade.....	54,028	206	353	637	955	1,149
Public service.....	10,365	4	7	15	42	82
Professional service.....	23,436	5	18	39	78	166
Domestic and personal service.....	72,670	791	699	1,011	1,438	1,668
Clerical occupations....	32,061	261	607	835	1,126	1,340

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, packing houses, stores, etc., or "any other occupation whatsoever," (includes mines) 17 years; billiard or pool halls.

Educational minimum

No provision.

Physical minimum

No provision. Child at work who appears to factory inspector to be under age, however, must obtain certificate of fitness from city or parish physician.

Maximum hours

Boys under 18 years, girls under 21 years; factories, packing houses, stores (except on Saturday night in stores employing more than 5 persons), etc., or any other occupation whatsoever; 10 hours per day, 60 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years, girls, 16 to 18 years; any occupation (except on Saturday night in stores employing more than 5 persons); certain occupations exempt; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

MAINE

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	621,233	56,570	13,421	12,838	13,193	12,771
All gainfully occupied..	309,858	333	484	1,768	4,358	5,859
Agriculture.....	77,304	145	194	484	930	1,158
Mining.....	748	.....	.....	2	10	9
Manufacturing.....	120,248	43	80	721	2,403	3,020
Transportation.....	22,640	6	18	62	142	255
Trade.....	27,539	42	42	155	254	407
Public service.....	5,456	.....	1	3	11	50
Professional service.....	16,624	5	3	12	29	151
Domestic and personal service.....	24,057	69	123	262	445	541
Clerical occupations....	15,242	23	23	67	134	268

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

15 years; any business or service for hire during school hours. 14 years in manufacturing and mechanical establishments outside school hours. No minimum age for employment in stores outside school hours.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing work certificates empowered to require physical examination in "doubtful" cases.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories (establishments handling perishable products exempted), etc.; 8 hours per day, 54 hours per week; stores (except one week before Christmas and 8 days before Easter); 54 hours per week.

Girls under 21 years; factories (establishments handling perishable products exempted); 9 hours per day, 54 hours per week; stores (except one week before Christmas and 8 days before Easter); 9 hours per day.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories (establishments handling perishable products exempted), etc.; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 6:30 A.M.

MARYLAND

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,158,953	112,191	27,680	24,675	27,293	25,755
All gainfully occupied..	603,478	1,768	3,530	7,002	13,333	15,609
Agriculture.....	95,881	954	898	1,316	2,119	2,460
Mining.....	6,637	1	6	20	116	158
Manufacturing.....	207,415	147	1,143	2,504	5,443	6,044
Transportation.....	55,939	24	92	267	683	1,068
Trade.....	66,107	183	331	727	1,357	1,337
Public service.....	21,691	2	5	20	61	263
Professional service....	29,704	5	6	32	77	179
Domestic and personal service.....	67,234	374	395	752	1,175	1,444
Clerical occupations....	52,870	78	654	1,364	2,302	2,656

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, canning or packing establishments, stores, etc.

18 years; specified dangerous occupations.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines, quarries, or coal breakers.

Educational minimum

Completion of 5th grade in specified subjects.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories (canning and packing establishments not included), stores, etc., 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories (canning and packing establishments not included), stores, etc. prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service in cities having a population of 20,000 or over; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

MASSACHUSETTS

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	3,106,769	271,812	61,726	60,488	61,987	59,270
All gainfully occupied..	1,728,318	1,431	10,803	21,489	32,652	38,070
Agriculture.....	57,555	106	248	477	712	718
Mining.....	1,198	.....	.....	7	7	10
Manufacturing.....	887,898	366	8,047	15,340	22,301	23,565
Transportation.....	121,899	21	203	431	783	1,487
Trade.....	193,719	556	623	1,570	2,912	3,576
Public service.....	37,776	.....	7	34	123	323
Professional service....	98,763	20	29	95	188	349
Domestic and personal service.....	149,060	164	364	698	1,169	1,358
Clerical occupations....	180,450	198	1,282	2,837	4,457	6,684

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any work for compensation during school hours.

18 years; specified dangerous occupations.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any employment; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Boys 16 to 18 years, girls 16 to 21 years; factories, stores, etc.; 9 hours per day, 48 hours per week (52 hours under certain specified conditions).

Night work

Under 16 years; any occupation; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 6:30 A.M.

Boys 16 to 18 years, girls 16 to 21 years; any occupation; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. and in manufacturing textiles after 6 P.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service between 10 P.M. and 5 A.M. with certain exemptions.

MICHIGAN

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,895,606	264,402	62,051	57,760	60,899	58,524
All gainfully occupied..	1,474,014	2,658	2,587	7,909	23,492	31,168
Agriculture.....	290,374	777	891	1,920	4,235	5,104
Mining.....	28,798	8	6	60	248	440
Manufacturing.....	618,425	302	509	2,494	9,651	13,073
Transportation.....	90,394	29	70	399	1,389	2,082
Trade.....	144,044	1,137	550	1,084	2,401	2,734
Public service.....	19,953	....	1	6	42	87
Professional service....	72,119	38	33	88	160	314
Domestic and personal service.....	96,141	203	314	798	1,949	2,351
Clerical occupations....	113,766	164	213	1,060	3,417	4,983

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

15 years, with certain exemptions at 14 years outside school hours; in or in connection with factories (canneries included), stores, etc.

Boys, 15 years; in or in connection with mines or quarries during school hours; outside school hours, 14 years in quarries, no minimum age specified in mines.

18 years; specified dangerous occupations.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade.

16 to 17 years, continuation school attendance required under specified conditions.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing work certificate must certify to children's physical condition and is empowered to require examination by physician.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years, boys 16 to 18 years, girls 16 to 21 years; factories (fruit and vegetable canneries exempted), stores; etc., 10 hours per day, 54 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years, girls 16 to 18 years; factories (canneries canning perishable fruit exempt); prohibited from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

MINNESOTA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,877,132	188,469	45,492	43,567	45,796	43,810
All gainfully occupied..	907,013	1,767	1,958	4,546	13,144	18,316
Agriculture.....	307,876	1,120	1,194	2,384	5,229	6,644
Mining.....	14,994	2	3	10	59	115
Manufacturing.....	204,002	58	103	504	2,701	3,759
Transportation.....	70,492	17	33	165	749	1,221
Trade.....	104,431	349	216	470	1,354	1,715
Public service.....	11,774	.....	1	6	17	39
Professional service.....	55,482	10	15	30	114	320
Domestic and personal service.....	70,120	150	223	496	1,421	2,035
Clerical occupations....	67,842	61	170	481	1,500	2,468

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; in or in connection with factories, mines, etc., at any time, or in any business or service during school hours. No minimum age for employment in stores outside school hours.

18 years; specified dangerous occupations.

Girls, 21 years; messenger service.

Educational minimum

Completion of common school course.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

18 years; messenger service prohibited between 9 P.M. and 5 A.M.

MISSISSIPPI

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,338,612	188,686	47,280	39,816	42,109	37,453
All gainfully occupied..	721,410	39,542	15,808	15,004	18,156	18,678
Agriculture.....	506,614	38,186	14,520	13,157	15,033	14,308
Mining.....	259	3	2	5	5	7
Manufacturing.....	74,959	319	462	789	1,385	1,898
Transportation.....	27,324	84	114	198	365	588
Trade.....	31,202	210	150	213	345	427
Public service.....	4,980	6	5	12	29	73
Professional service.....	19,181	14	9	18	43	185
Domestic and personal service.....	45,454	564	424	479	773	921
Clerical occupations....	11,437	156	122	133	178	271

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories and canneries, except fruit and vegetable canneries. No provision for stores.

Educational minimum

No provision.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories and canneries, except fruit and vegetable canneries. No provision for stores; 8 hours per day, 44 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories and canneries, except fruit and vegetable canneries; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. No provision for stores.

MISSOURI

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,737,771	268,988	66,133	60,561	65,094	60,126
All gainfully occupied..	1,317,160	4,323	6,101	12,163	22,825	27,386
Agriculture.....	396,863	3,111	2,676	3,835	6,570	7,830
Mining.....	21,516	17	21	103	290	354
Manufacturing.....	330,883	256	1,239	3,321	6,793	7,685
Transportation.....	101,889	54	173	467	1,208	1,761
Trade.....	158,893	370	586	1,168	2,287	2,564
Public service.....	18,456	4	2	14	45	79
Professional service.....	69,191	17	30	89	271	616
Domestic and personal service.....	114,085	289	416	886	1,572	1,880
Clerical occupations....	105,384	205	958	2,280	3,789	4,617

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemptions for work outside school hours and for children working for parents or guardians; any gainful occupation.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines or underground works.

Girls, 18 years; messenger service.

Educational minimum

No provision.

16 to 18 years continuation school attendance for 4 hours per week required under specified conditions if not enrolled in regular day school.

Physical minimum

Physicians certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation (provision does not apply to children working for their parents or guardians); 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation (provision does not apply to children working for their parents or guardians); prohibited from 7 P. M. to 7 A.M. with the exemption that children 10 to 16 years of age attending day school may work until 9 P.M.

MONTANA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	421,443	42,021	9,306	8,718	8,949	8,276
All gainfully occupied..	214,183	343	329	730	1,748	2,624
Agriculture.....	85,020	201	165	312	661	954
Mining.....	16,718	2	2	11	82	123
Manufacturing.....	32,629	4	14	73	198	365
Transportation.....	18,923	4	11	53	146	266
Trade.....	19,198	76	53	102	205	260
Public service.....	2,900	.....	.....	2	4	9
Professional service.....	12,634	2	6	9	23	50
Domestic and personal service.....	15,667	24	50	95	255	331
Clerical occupations....	10,494	30	28	73	174	266

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

16 years; factories, etc., or where any machinery is operated. No regulation for employment in stores except requirement of certificate for employment of children under 16 at any work "during school term and while the public schools are in session."

Certificate granted to child, 14 years or over, eighth grade graduate or whose wages are necessary for support of family.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade.

16 to 18 years; attendance at continuation school 4 hours per week required, if day school is left to go to work.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Employment of children under 16 in factories, etc., is entirely prohibited. Apparently no provision for stores except maximum 8-hour day for all females (10 hours allowed in retail stores during week preceding Christmas).

Night work

Employment of children under 16 in factories, etc., is entirely prohibited. No provision for stores.

NEBRASKA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,012,552	106,692	25,416	23,812	24,390	23,546
All gainfully occupied..	457,081	1,272	1,238	2,776	5,817	8,399
Agriculture.....	187,115	867	803	1,501	2,655	3,647
Mining.....	388	....	....	3	2	7
Manufacturing.....	83,901	40	79	350	1,015	1,364
Transportation.....	36,608	18	30	152	455	675
Trade.....	54,863	201	135	233	508	693
Public service.....	5,663	....	....	1	12	20
Professional service....	30,135	9	14	34	85	387
Domestic and personal service.....	31,239	72	112	262	528	728
Clerical occupations....	27,169	65	65	240	557	878

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any business or service during school hours.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade, or literacy in English, plus attendance at evening or continuation school.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing work certificates must certify to the children's physical condition. Specifically empowered to require examination by physician.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, stores, etc. (law covers packing houses and beet fields); 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

16 years; factories, stores, etc. (law covers packing houses and beet fields); prohibited from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M.

18 years; messenger service in incorporated cities and towns prohibited between 10 P.M. and 5 A.M.

NEVADA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	63,905	4,656	1,054	1,005	983	962
All gainfully occupied...	37,548	34	35	100	213	303
Agriculture.....	8,589	10	10	22	63	77
Mining.....	6,178	...	1	4	3	16
Manufacturing.....	7,182	1	3	12	42	63
Transportation.....	4,319	2	...	16	22	45
Trade.....	2,829	9	8	13	24	24
Public service.....	595	...	1	1	1	1
Professional service....	2,373	...	2	1	1	8
Domestic and personal service.....	3,747	6	4	21	25	40
Clerical occupations....	1,736	6	6	10	32	29

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; any business or service during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines, quarries or coal breakers.

Educational minimum

Under 16 years; no provision.

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required 4 hours per week under specified conditions.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; girls, 16 to 18 years; any gainful occupation except domestic service; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 18 years; messenger service in incorporated cities and towns; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	361,930	31,481	7,310	6,900	7,190	7,132
All gainfully occupied...	192,827	194	348	984	3,281	4,200
Agriculture.....	30,426	41	48	126	312	367
Mining.....	406	...	...	1	1	7
Manufacturing.....	99,323	46	190	616	2,332	2,853
Transportation.....	12,351	...	12	17	65	130
Trade.....	14,661	61	38	67	194	255
Public service.....	2,940	...	1	...	7	26
Professional service.....	9,356	2	4	4	16	46
Domestic and personal service.....	14,064	35	35	95	207	249
Clerical occupations.....	9,300	9	20	58	147	267

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile, or other employment when school is in session.

Boys, 14 years; in or about quarries.

Educational minimum

No grade specified, proficiency in certain subjects required.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years, girls, 16 to 18 years, any gainful occupation other than domestic service; boys, 16 to 18 years, girls, 18 to 21 years; manual or mechanical labor in any employment; $10\frac{1}{4}$ hours per day, 54 hours per week; certain exemptions.

Night work

Under 16 years, girls 16 to 18 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6.30 A.M.; certain exemptions.

NEW JERSEY

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,494,246	236,987	54,249	49,949	53,791	50,045
All gainfully occupied..	1,310,653	1,228	7,293	17,503	30,934	33,930
Agriculture.....	61,153	229	275	494	893	974
Mining.....	3,935	1	3	11	40	45
Manufacturing.....	628,575	360	4,573	10,697	18,066	18,478
Transportation.....	111,115	28	154	505	1,498	2,201
Trade.....	144,593	220	556	1,409	2,343	2,563
Public service.....	34,624	4	3	27	90	211
Professional service.....	70,119	9	27	76	160	288
Domestic and personal service.....	104,913	180	367	679	1,133	1,258
Clerical occupations....	151,626	197	1,335	3,605	6,711	7,912

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemptions allowing children 10 years of age to work at "light work" outside of school hours; factories, places where manufacture of goods of any kind is carried on, mercantile establishments, etc.

Boys, 18 years; underground in mines. (Another law fixes minimum age of 14 in mines or quarries).

Educational minimum

Completion of 5th grade in specified subjects.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, etc., or mercantile establishments; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, etc., or mercantile establishments; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service in cities other than 1st class; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service; in cities of 1st class; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

NEW MEXICO

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	267,595	33,101	7,824	7,107	7,140	6,462
All gainfully occupied..	122,031	821	490	884	1,557	2,104
Agriculture.....	55,033	583	320	515	749	979
Mining.....	7,310	4	10	19	66	113
Manufacturing.....	16,118	117	49	75	208	290
Transportation.....	10,982	14	22	55	123	202
Trade.....	8,133	29	20	44	111	111
Public service.....	6,411	2	2	7	17	23
Professional service....	6,164	1	1	8	12	63
Domestic and personal service.....	8,382	60	52	131	202	236
Clerical occupations....	3,498	11	14	30	69	87

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years with possibility of exemption by district court if work is "necessary," and if education and physical and moral welfare are fully provided for; factories, etc., or in any business or service during school hours. No minimum age for employment in stores outside school hours.

Boys, 14 years; in mines. No specific provision for employment in quarries, but minimum age for employment in any business or service during school hours is 14 with same exemption as that applying to minimum age in factories, etc.

Educational minimum

No provision.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any business or service; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any business or service; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A. M.

NEW YORK

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	8,402,786	733,957	168,461	157,217	167,200	162,902
All gainfully occupied..	4,503,204	2,822	8,154	38,870	88,851	109,758
Agriculture.....	314,774	409	470	1,522	3,947	4,906
Mining.....	7,549	1	2	17	71	107
Manufacturing.....	1,757,108	603	2,305	14,934	37,837	45,418
Transportation.....	403,574	96	221	1,466	4,491	6,724
Trade.....	591,334	773	1,012	4,069	8,814	11,025
Public service.....	100,374	13	14	75	292	766
Professional service....	288,764	54	65	257	708	1,378
Domestic and personal service.....	472,961	340	545	1,519	3,636	4,797
Clerical occupations....	566,766	533	3,520	15,011	29,055	34,637

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories (canneries and canning sheds included by definition), etc.; mercantile establishments in places of 3,000 population or over; and, according to the compulsory education law, employment in any business or service whatever, except that, when attendance upon instruction is not required, children 12 or over may be employed in farm service or outdoor work not connected with or for a factory or any other business or employment regulated or prohibited by the penal law (relating to certain dangerous, etc., occupations) or specified in section 130 of the labor law (this section includes stores).

Boys, 16 years; in or in connection with mines or quarries.

Boys, 18 years; girls 21 years; certain specified dangerous occupations.

Girls, 21 years; messenger and transit service.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade if child is under 15 years; otherwise completion of 6th grade.

16-18 years; continuation school attendance required four to eight hours per week under specified conditions.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories (canneries and canning sheds included by definition), etc.; stores in cities or villages of 3,000 population or over. Apparently no provision for stores in places of less than 3,000; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Boys 16 to 18 years, girls 16 to 21 years; factories (except canneries between June 15 and October 15), restaurants in cities of first and second class; 9 hours per day (10 hours allowed to make 1 work day per week shorter), 54 hours per week, 6 days per week. (Stores exempt in week before Christmas and 2 extra days for stock taking).

Girls, 18 to 21 years; elevator service; 9 hours per day, 54 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories (canneries and canning sheds included by definition), etc.; prohibited from 5 P.M. to 8 A.M.; stores in cities or villages of 3,000 or over; apparently no provision for stores in places of less than 3,000; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 8 A.M.

Boys, 16 to 18 years; factories (except canneries between June 15 and October 15), stores; prohibited from 12 midnight to 6 A.M.

Girls, 16 to 21 years; factories (exemptions for girls over 18 in canneries); prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M.; stores and restaurants; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Girls, 18-21 years; elevator service; 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

NORTH CAROLINA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,844,673	255,068	63,789	54,627	58,563	51,156
All gainfully occupied..	895,852	28,675	16,008	17,479	24,518	24,417
Agriculture.....	477,686	27,080	11,991	11,511	13,983	13,005
Mining.....	1,990	5	6	19	44	42
Manufacturing.....	211,022	520	2,903	4,274	7,722	7,881
Transportation.....	36,337	72	162	294	550	776
Trade.....	52,895	196	230	382	663	827
Public service.....	8,965	5	13	25	44	75
Professional service....	29,677	15	8	24	51	159
Domestic and personal service.....	56,649	517	465	655	1,051	1,103
Clerical occupations....	20,631	265	230	295	410	549

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, canneries, stores, etc.; with certain exemption for children of 12 years in stores.

Boys, 16 years; in or about mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

No educational requirement, but employment certificate is to be issued "under such conditions" as State Child Welfare Commission may prescribe.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 14 years; stores, etc.; 8 hours per day.

Under 21 years; factories; 11 hours per day, 60 hours per week; certain exemptions.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, stores, etc.; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M.

NORTH DAKOTA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	470,210	60,983	13,776	13,124	12,908	12,235
All gainfully occupied..	207,082	971	648	1,197	2,408	3,715
Agriculture.....	119,886	875	552	937	1,697	2,337
Mining.....	1,298	....	1	4	7	29
Manufacturing.....	19,187	8	5	35	114	185
Transportation.....	12,462	7	11	25	105	212
Trade.....	18,952	33	16	48	118	214
Public service.....	1,694	....	....	1	3	6
Professional service.....	13,018	3	2	7	21	97
Domestic and personal service.....	13,166	35	43	121	277	503
Clerical occupations....	7,419	10	18	19	66	132

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or any business during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; any service or labor in any underground workings or mine or "at" mining...in any capacity. No specific provision for employment in quarries, but minimum age for employment in any business or service during school hours is 14 years.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade, or school attendance for at least 9 years, exclusive of kindergarten.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

OHIO

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	4,624,456	411,726	96,603	88,412	94,435	91,707
All gainfully occupied..	2,301,516	3,621	3,257	11,241	32,769	45,824
Agriculture.....	360,655	802	914	2,005	4,137	5,442
Mining.....	59,573	25	46	276	1,191	1,375
Manufacturing.....	959,382	291	526	4,057	14,360	20,304
Transportation.....	173,581	73	87	468	1,597	2,776
Trade.....	246,235	1,874	876	1,481	3,592	4,565
Public service.....	32,254	5	7	20	62	136
Professional service.....	117,470	19	39	100	244	469
Domestic and personal service.....	161,737	288	403	1,085	2,553	2,979
Clerical occupations....	190,629	244	359	1,749	5,033	7,778

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

16 years, with exemptions for children 14 years of age in vacation and outside school hours; work in, about, or in connection with factories, stores, etc., or any other employment.

Boys, 16 years; in, or about, mines, quarries, or coal breakers.

18 years; specified dangerous occupations.

Girls, 21 years; messenger service.

Educational minimum

Completion of 7th grade.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years, girls 16 to 18 years; factories, stores, etc. (children under 16 years employed outside school hours must not be engaged in school and employment more than 9 hours per day); 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Boys, 16 to 18 years; factories, stores, etc.; 10 hours per day, 54 hours per week.

Girls, 18 to 21 years; factories, stores, etc.; 9 hours per day (10 hours allowed in stores on Saturday), 50 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years, girls 16 to 18 years; factories, stores, etc.; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Boys 16 to 18 years, girls 18 to 21 years; factories, stores, etc.; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

OKLAHOMA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,513,951	199,649	47,788	42,096	44,336	40,717
All gainfully occupied..	681,428	11,129	5,279	6,573	10,499	13,542
Agriculture.....	314,657	10,337	4,495	4,920	6,572	7,369
Mining.....	38,349	18	47	138	488	701
Manufacturing.....	104,785	107	169	418	1,001	1,587
Transportation.....	43,547	54	94	239	705	1,030
Trade.....	64,711	305	174	295	539	814
Public service.....	8,968	4	7	11	37	82
Professional service.....	34,275	17	11	33	72	228
Domestic and personal service.....	42,398	205	177	340	647	926
Clerical occupations.....	29,738	82	105	179	438	805

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories. Boys 16 years, girls 21 years; underground in mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required (specified school attendance may be substituted); 16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required under specified conditions.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing work certificates must certify to children's physical condition, and is specifically empowered to require examination by physician.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; girls 16 to 18 years; factories, etc. Apparently no provision for stores; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

OREGON

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	638,987	55,877	13,137	12,486	12,558	12,459
All gainfully occupied..	322,283	674	558	1,230	3,008	4,610
Agriculture.....	92,000	158	155	355	774	1,215
Mining.....	2,203	....	1	....	2	7
Manufacturing.....	88,425	24	67	250	897	1,383
Transportation.....	29,074	7	15	55	195	373
Trade.....	36,922	370	184	231	348	493
Public service.....	4,662	....	....	2	8	22
Professional service....	21,863	7	5	19	37	109
Domestic and personal service.....	25,252	51	60	138	342	452
Clerical occupations....	21,882	57	71	180	405	556

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemptions for children over 12 years during school vacations; factories, stores, etc., at any time, or in any work or labor of any form during school term.

18 years, motion picture operators, engineers, dance halls, etc.

Girls, 21 years, messenger service.

Educational minimum

16 to 18 years, completion of 8th grade; continuation school attendance required 5 hours per week under specified conditions.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing work certificates must certify to children's physical condition.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any occupation; 8 hours per day, 6 days per week.

Girls, 16 to 18 years; 9 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Boys, 16 to 18 years; 10 hours per day, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years, girls 16 to 18 years; any occupation; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

PENNSYLVANIA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	6,769,322	692,458	159,283	145,175	161,556	147,587
All gainfully occupied..	3,426,359	4,846	15,462	35,363	80,451	89,473
Agriculture.....	284,313	1,409	1,518	2,596	4,459	4,798
Mining.....	332,432	195	737	2,460	8,637	8,417
Manufacturing.....	1,426,705	865	8,096	18,860	41,482	43,555
Transportation.....	284,540	84	264	919	3,019	5,021
Trade.....	339,037	1,077	1,457	3,244	6,974	7,783
Public service.....	53,697	4	10	43	171	401
Professional service....	165,106	33	61	135	409	755
Domestic and personal service.....	257,145	766	1,409	2,706	5,200	5,551
Clerical occupations....	283,384	413	1,910	4,400	10,100	13,192

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; any establishment or occupation.

Boys 16 years, girls 21 years; in mines.

Boys, 18 years; in quarries.

18 years; specified dangerous occupations.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade in specified subjects.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any establishment or occupation; 9 hours per day, 51 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Girls, 16 to 18 years; factories; 10 hours per day, 58 hours per week; except to shorten work day one day per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any establishment or occupation; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Girls, 16 to 18 years; factories, prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Girls, under 21 years; any establishment; prohibited from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M., telephone girls over 18 excepted.

21 years; messenger service; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M.

RHODE ISLAND

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	483,788	43,695	10,141	9,903	10,461	10,558
All gainfully occupied..	275,000	186	3,152	5,231	7,121	8,095
Agriculture.....	8,354	9	36	74	112	117
Mining.....	160	....	2	....	....	....
Manufacturing.....	161,920	79	2,647	4,253	5,635	5,467
Transportation.....	15,904	6	37	53	124	211
Trade.....	26,554	48	118	254	401	460
Public service.....	8,452	1	2	2	19	772
Professional service....	12,081	3	4	19	27	46
Domestic and personal service.....	19,207	21	57	107	148	188
Clerical occupations....	22,368	19	249	469	655	834

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

15 years, with exemption of 14 and 15 year old children outside school hours and vacations if granted proper certificate; factories or manufacturing or business establishments.

18 years of age; passenger elevators.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, stores, etc.; 10 hours per day, 54 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, stores, etc.; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

SOUTH CAROLINA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,219,316	177,830	45,210	37,164	39,879	34,006
All gainfully occupied..	674,257	32,528	15,464	15,528	19,845	19,161
Agriculture.....	420,635	31,436	13,346	12,138	14,181	12,885
Mining.....	624	3	2	6	7	11
Manufacturing.....	109,544	272	1,350	2,207	3,588	3,681
Transportation.....	21,932	58	87	193	325	429
Trade.....	33,730	152	155	255	373	486
Public service.....	10,607	9	11	26	156	214
Professional service.....	17,856	10	10	11	42	118
Domestic and personal service.....	47,220	411	369	528	950	1,013
Clerical occupations....	12,109	177	134	164	223	324

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories. No provision for stores.

Boys, 14 years; in mines.

Educational minimum

No provision.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; cotton or woolen manufacturing establishments engaged in the manufacture of yarns, cloth, hosiery, and other products; 10 hours per day, 55 hours per week. No provision for stores except a maximum 12-hour day and 60-hour week for all females.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, etc.; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. or from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M. if time is lost on account of accident to machinery. No provision for stores, except that employment of females is prohibited after 10 P.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

SOUTH DAKOTA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	482,195	53,743	12,767	11,917	12,387	11,853
All gainfully occupied..	216,571	651	655	1,249	2,560	3,842
Agriculture.....	117,277	512	520	896	1,664	2,320
Mining.....	1,437	1	....	1	11	14
Manufacturing.....	26,282	13	19	88	227	372
Transportation.....	12,830	8	9	39	133	224
Trade.....	21,983	61	32	68	139	241
Public service.....	2,013	1	....	1	2	8
Professional service.....	13,782	7	3	7	17	85
Domestic and personal service.....	13,253	31	52	122	289	427
Clerical occupations....	7,714	17	20	27	78	151

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemption for children on permit on account of poverty; factories, etc., at any time or in stores during school hours. Apparently no minimum age for employment in stores during school vacation or outside school hours.

Boys, 14 years; in or about mines.

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required (specified school attendance, or lawful excuse therefrom, may be substituted).

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years, girls under 21 years; any occupation with exemption for the 5 days before Christmas in stores, for telephone and telegraph operators and for persons caring for livestock; 10 hours per day, 54 hours per week.

Night work

Under 14 years; stores; prohibited after 7 P.M. No provision for factories.

TENNESSEE

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,770,762	221,804	54,633	47,111	50,436	47,565
All gainfully occupied..	830,096	18,170	9,856	11,811	17,553	20,190
Agriculture.....	400,134	16,605	7,752	7,969	9,879	10,322
Mining.....	17,630	29	68	146	441	535
Manufacturing.....	150,703	336	790	1,728	3,727	4,360
Transportation.....	51,450	71	156	300	679	1,072
Trade.....	67,429	340	297	479	844	1,169
Public service.....	7,683	3	8	13	32	69
Professional service.....	30,626	13	14	24	77	180
Domestic and personal service.....	73,470	597	538	794	1,222	1,495
Clerical occupations....	30,971	176	233	358	652	988

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, canneries, etc., at any time, or in any business or service which interferes with children's attendance at school during school term (provision interpreted to apply to all establishments where labor is employed).

Boys, 16 years; in mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

No grade specified; proficiency in certain subjects required (implied from compulsory school-attendance law as requirement for employment, but not specifically required for issuance of certificate).

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, etc. (provision interpreted to apply to all establishments where labor is employed); 8 hours per day, 6 days per week.

Girls, 16 to 21 years; factories, etc.; 10½ hours per day, 57 hours per week; with certain exemptions.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, canneries, etc. (provision interpreted to apply to all establishments where labor is employed); prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

Under 18 years; messenger service; prohibited from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

TEXAS

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	3,556,614	438,132	106,967	97,487	100,486	95,423
All gainfully occupied..	1,719,023	40,559	18,080	22,233	31,639	38,350
Agriculture.....	793,840	37,991	15,144	15,896	19,580	21,240
Mining.....	31,495	36	38	112	285	515
Manufacturing.....	268,120	422	680	1,662	3,651	4,984
Transportation.....	124,469	184	337	857	1,822	2,590
Trade.....	162,507	613	530	1,082	1,836	2,557
Public service.....	45,717	19	13	64	192	363
Professional service....	75,945	34	39	107	236	722
Domestic and personal service.....	135,065	827	757	1,318	2,157	2,629
Clerical occupations....	81,865	433	542	1,135	1,880	2,750

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

15 years, with exemptions for children 12 years or over in case of poverty if due care is taken of health and morals; factories, etc. No provision for stores.

Boys 17 years; in or about mines or quarries or places where explosives are used, or in distilleries.

Educational minimum

Under 16 years, read and write English. Sworn statement of child or parent, sufficient evidence.

Physical minimum

Under 16 years, sworn statement of child or parent that child is physically able to do work.

Maximum hours

Under 15 years; any occupation; 10 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

No provision.

UTAH

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	331,530	41,766	9,860	9,049	8,847	8,588
All gainfully occupied..	149,201	738	582	1,041	1,859	2,862
Agriculture.....	43,259	580	376	521	764	946
Mining.....	10,117	....	3	4	33	77
Manufacturing.....	33,594	17	38	151	367	604
Transportation.....	12,429	9	13	41	115	247
Trade.....	16,543	73	58	109	171	279
Public service.....	2,468	....	....	....	2	9
Professional service.....	9,997	6	9	12	23	42
Domestic and personal service.....	10,171	20	35	85	195	289
Clerical occupations.....	10,623	33	50	118	189	369

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

16 years; specified dangerous occupations only.

Boys, 16 years; in mines, quarries or coal breakers.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade for child under 16 years (certificate requirement extends to 18).

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required 144 hours per year.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Boys under 14 years, girls under 16 years of age; any gainful occupation except fruit or vegetable packing; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

21 years; cities 1st or 2nd class; messenger service; 9 P.M. to 5 A.M.

VERMONT

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND
OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	284,472	26,303	6,282	5,994	6,202	5,995
All gainfully occupied..	138,484	207	264	806	2,104	2,738
Agriculture.....	44,260	86	118	306	670	818
Mining.....	1,899	1	1	16	44	39
Manufacturing.....	44,672	20	48	208	826	1,036
Transportation.....	9,278	4	6	21	54	126
Trade.....	10,967	52	36	75	142	177
Public service.....	1,851	....	....	1	4	9
Professional service.....	7,621	3	6	3	14	45
Domestic and personal service.....	11,630	31	38	150	292	352
Clerical occupations....	6,306	10	11	26	58	136

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, canneries, (provisions may be suspended for 2 months in case of business handling perishable products) etc., no provisions for stores.

Boys, 16 years; in mines or quarries.

Educational minimum

Completion of elementary school course, or rural school course and 2 years of junior high school course.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; work connected with manufacturing, etc., (provisions may be suspended for 2 months in case of business handling perishable products); 8 hours per day, 6 days per week. No provision for stores.

16 to 18 years; factories, mines, quarries, etc., with certain exemptions; 10½ hours per day, 56 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; factories, etc., (provision may be suspended for 2 months in case of business handling perishable products); prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. No provision for stores.

VIRGINIA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,748,868	214,347	51,646	45,922	48,883	45,465
All gainfully occupied..	833,576	8,604	6,824	10,065	16,641	20,256
Agriculture.....	301,707	6,621	4,024	4,856	6,779	7,203
Mining.....	16,205	25	40	123	380	481
Manufacturing.....	196,142	309	1,063	2,224	4,454	5,245
Transportation.....	63,617	88	179	387	866	1,274
Trade.....	65,101	369	348	650	1,059	1,293
Public service.....	31,851	6	17	63	179	944
Professional service....	34,342	15	11	33	76	207
Domestic and personal service.....	84,603	950	818	1,117	1,782	2,157
Clerical occupations....	40,008	221	324	612	1,066	1,452

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemption for children 12 to 16 years in certain occupations outside school hours; any gainful occupation.

Boys, 16 years; in mines or quarries.

Girls, 18 years; cigar stores, theatres, pool halls, or places of amusement, hotels, restaurants, laundries, elevator or messenger service.

Educational minimum

No provision.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory. Annual physical examinations of children holding certificates required.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years, any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 44 hours per week, 6 days per week.

12-16; canneries; if employed not more than 8 hours per day when school is not in session, exempt from these provisions.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation (does not apply to children 12 to 16 years of age in canneries); prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Boys 16-18 years, girls 18-21 years; messenger service 10 P.M. to 5 A.M. prohibited.

WASHINGTON

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	1,101,929	95,259	22,294	21,092	21,464	20,927
All gainfully occupied..	578,667	1,105	986	2,559	5,702	8,274
Agriculture.....	131,526	246	241	537	1,169	1,594
Mining.....	8,821	1	3	2	43	89
Manufacturing.....	179,539	61	175	808	1,942	2,846
Transportation.....	53,396	16	51	197	517	807
Trade.....	67,345	550	260	415	683	927
Public service.....	12,944	2	....	12	40	99
Professional service.....	36,332	16	13	41	94	166
Domestic and personal service.....	47,224	112	109	242	594	788
Clerical occupations....	41,540	101	134	305	620	958

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemption for children of 12 years of age or over on account of poverty; factories, stores, etc. (The law here shown may have been repealed by a later law, but this question is in doubt owing to a defect in the title of the repealing act).

Boys, 16 years; in coal mines, (does not apply to surface workings) except those in which less than 5 men are employed underground on one shift and those in which less than 10 men are employed.

18 years; certain specified dangerous occupations.

Girls, 18 years; shakers in laundries, clerks in tobacco stores, messenger service, bowling alleys, etc.

Educational minimum

Under 15 years, where there are continuation schools, child must have finished 8th grade or show that he or she cannot "profitably pursue further school work."

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required 4 hours per week.

Labor law provides for several permits or certificates, for which there are no educational requirements.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 18 years; factories, stores, etc.; 8 hours per day, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 18 years; factories, stores, etc.; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

WEST VIRGINIA

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population	1,083,395	132,547	31,600	27,152	30,130	28,031
All gainfully occupied..	491,116	2,000	1,880	3,551	8,956	11,156
Agriculture.....	125,592	1,460	1,139	1,513	2,331	2,695
Mining.....	103,151	68	97	307	1,871	2,584
Manufacturing.....	117,031	81	214	801	2,518	2,924
Transportation.....	37,557	21	61	187	580	814
Trade.....	35,109	138	104	218	526	626
Public service.....	4,341	....	4	10	11	38
Professional service.....	22,521	6	9	17	75	181
Domestic and personal service.....	27,053	181	195	370	690	788
Clerical occupations....	18,761	45	57	128	354	506

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years, with exemptions for boys 12 years of age or over in stores and offices outside school hours; any gainful occupation at any time, or in any business or service during school hours.

Boys, 16 years; in mines, quarries or excavations.

Educational minimum

Completion of 6th grade.

Physical minimum

Physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.

WISCONSIN

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	2,069,567	209,063	50,644	48,761	48,820	47,778
All gainfully occupied..	995,549	1,702	4,262	9,720	16,812	23,886
Agriculture.....	308,050	792	1,441	3,238	5,560	6,751
Mining.....	3,901	2	1	4	16	34
Manufacturing.....	339,811	88	1,616	3,811	6,188	9,003
Transportation.....	60,643	23	72	193	540	1,046
Trade.....	91,028	598	444	636	1,116	1,634
Public service.....	10,561	....	....	5	20	38
Professional service.....	52,036	5	15	38	109	424
Domestic and personal service.....	68,435	115	290	862	1,664	2,272
Clerical occupations....	61,084	79	383	933	1,599	2,684

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

14 years; factories, stores, etc., or in any gainful occupation or employment; with exemptions for children 12 years and over during school vacation in certain occupations.

18 years; certain specified dangerous occupations.

Boys, 18 years; in or about mines or quarries.

Girls, 21 years; bell hop.

Educational minimum

Completion of 8th grade, or school attendance for at least 9 years, exclusive of kindergarten.

16 to 18 years; continuation school attendance required 8 hours per week.

Physical minimum

Officer issuing work certificates may withhold them, if children seem unable to perform work. In Milwaukee physician's certificate of physical fitness mandatory.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Under 18 years; manufacturing cigars; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M.

Under 21 years; messenger service in cities of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class; prohibited from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M.

WYOMING

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS, 1920

Age groups	10 and over	10-13	14	15	16	17
Population.....	150,993	14,245	3,213	2,929	3,041	2,755
All gainfully occupied..	81,536	142	154	312	754	999
Agriculture.....	26,045	89	84	134	248	317
Mining.....	8,790	2	6	15	68	85
Manufacturing.....	15,364	8	14	36	124	181
Transportation.....	9,857	1	9	42	90	124
Trade.....	6,151	30	16	21	46	67
Public service.....	1,558	....	....	....	2	4
Professional service....	4,151	2	1	1	5	21
Domestic and personal service.....	6,090	4	14	39	114	112
Clerical occupations....	3,530	6	10	24	57	88

LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS

Age minimum

No child whose attendance at school is required by law shall be employed at any occupation or service "during the time that the public schools... are in session." The following children are required by law to attend school: All children 7 to 16 years except those who (1) are physically incapacitated; (2) have completed the 8th grade; (3) are excluded from school for legal reasons; (4) are excused by district board because law would "work a hardship" to the child.

Boys, 14 years; in or about mines or quarries except in office.

Educational minimum

No provision.

Physical minimum

No provision.

Maximum hours

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, 6 days per week.

Night work

Under 16 years; any gainful occupation; prohibited from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.

